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Reagan misses out on a good chance

DIE ZEIT

is is the third time President Rea- has stayed away from the funer- Soviet party leader and head of

is a pity for two reasons: first, to Moscow would have given him chance of making a gesture that have taken some of the chill off relations between the superpowers. would have cost him nothing either, dissatisfaction by right-wing sup-

cond, he has shown how little his of the Soviet Union has changed some moderation in official ments by the Reagan administra-

otocol gestures as a token of re- are valuable when political rel- are as inhospitable as they are

though Moscow didn't recall its delegation after the death of Mr enko, the talks with Washington likely to achieve results because sides' starting-points are poles

IN THIS ISSUE

e signs are that the Geneva talks be a fresh round of dialogue be- the hard of hearing. The Russians want to scale down their nuclear if the Americans scrap plans to anti-missile systems in space, but is precisely what the Reagan admin- tion has no intention of doing.

After years of alienation between cow and Washington there are no of rapprochement in other sectors , and the changing of the guard in Moscow is unlikely to change this state of affairs to any great extent.

Mr Gorbachev sounded a fairly encouraging note in his inaugural speech. The Soviet Union, he said, wanted to *reach agreement in Geneva and* was anxious to make fresh headway on friendly cooperation.

He attaches top priority to the need to put the Soviet house in order and modernise the Soviet empire. He well knows his country could badly do with peace and quiet in foreign affairs and an easing of the expensive pressure of the arms race.

But Mr Gorbachev forms part of the continuity of collective leadership. He was one of the men who reached Soviet politbureau decisions taken in recent years and bore responsibility for them.

Merely because there is a new and younger man at the top in the Kremlin Soviet policy toward the West and in world affairs will not undergo immediate change.

Yet Mr Reagan was still ill-advised to miss the opportunity of meeting the new Kremlin leader at the grave of the old. It is the end of an era in Moscow — and the dawn of a new one.

The years of uncertainty how long Soviet leaders still had to live are over. They began long before Mr Brezhnev died in November 1982; rumours that his health was failing began to circulate from 1977.

His successor, Mr Andropov, was only in good health for a few months, while Mr Chernenko was a sick man from the moment he assumed power.

The politbureau has now appointed its youngest member to be their first among equals. Mikhail Gorbachev is 54, which makes him younger than Helmut Kohl, and he is over 20 years younger than Ronald Reagan.



Bonn Chancellor Kohl (centre), in Moscow for Mr Chernenko's funeral, meets new party chief Gorbachev (right) and Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko.
(Photo: dpa)

Always assuming death, setbacks or intrigue do not bring his career to a premature close, he could well lead the Soviet Union into the 21st century.

That is something to which the West will have to adjust. Mr Reagan's Ostpolitik is based on the assumption that the Soviet Union is in a transitional period, with leaders clinging to the status quo because they are too weak to arrive at decisions of their own.

White House policy toward the Kremlin assumes Soviet leaders to be old men with a tendency to adjourn rather than tackle tasks. The Soviet leaders have certainly made life easy for Mr Reagan in recent years; ill-health has virtually ruled them out as adversaries of America's.

The US President has also made life easy for himself, viewing East-West policy solely as a product of the balance of military power.

For four years he didn't really want to come to terms with the Russians because he first planned to give America a military boost. Now he is ready to talk because he feels America is adequately armed.

He is convinced this determination to rearm America is the only reason why the Russians have returned to the Geneva conference table.

Secretary of State Shultz has both stressed America's desire for talks and made it clear that it is the Russians who will have to do the asking.

America's political approach, he said, is to established objective facts that will trigger growing interest on the Soviet

Continued on page 2

Kohl gets his point across in Moscow

One reason why Chancellor Kohl was able to put to political use his visit to Moscow for Mr Chernenko's funeral is sure to have been his plain speaking on the inviolability of frontiers in his state of the nation address to the Bonn Bundestag.

This clarification, long overdue, was made at the end of last month. It made it clear that Herr Kohl has no intention of allowing the expellee wing of the Christian Democrats to lay down the law on Bonn foreign policy.

It enabled Foreign Minister Genscher *to stop over in Moscow and* Warsaw and paved the way for Bonn to emerge from the cloud under which it had been manoeuvred by expellees' leader Herbert Hupka and his associates.

The new Soviet leader, Mr Gorbachev, may have indicated that Bonn is not the government Moscow is keenest to hold talks with at present, but he took care not to let the Chancellor down.

In other words, the Kremlin expects Bonn's counsels to regain importance in the East-West dialogue.

Doubts as to the Federal Republic's readiness to abide by its East Bloc treaty commitments — doubts triggered by talk of domestic change — have for the time being been dispelled.

Herr Kohl made prompt use of his fund of goodwill in the Soviet capital, where he did more than hold a "frank and cordial" exchange of views with Mr Gorbachev.

He also met GDR leader Erich Honecker, Czech leader Gustav Husak and Polish leader Wojciech Jaruzelski, and these encounters were no less important *than his meeting with the Soviet leader.*

Politically the Party leaders in smaller Communist countries are caught in much the same cleft stick as Bonn. They would like to regain their freedom of movement as fast as possible, having lost it when the superpowers clashed on detente.

The reversion to cold war forced their allies, Washington's and Moscow's, to close ranks and give priority to solidarity rather than to an independent policy line.

European countries share a common interest in better East-West ties, and experience shows that the *Big Two's* partners need not look on regardless; they can definitely make contributions of their own toward keeping damage to a minimum.

The dispute within CDU/CSU ranks on Germany's eastern borders temporarily interrupted dialogue at this level. Following Chancellor Kohl's talks with East Bloc leaders this phase of uncertainty seems to be over.

(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 15 March 1985)

■ WORLD AFFAIRS

Geneva: realism needed before dreams

STUTTGARTER ZEITUNG

President Reagan believes he can make America and its allies independent of military developments in the Soviet Union by a technologically miraculous, impenetrable anti-missile shield.

The Soviet leader, Mr Gorbachev, no matter how young or open minded he may be, is bound by the ideological creed he represents to believe in and preach the superiority of the communist system.

Both men's dreams have now been cast into the balance of international political reality, with US and Soviet delegates meeting at three separate conference tables in Geneva.

The most difficult arms control talks since the Second World War are at issue and seem sure to fail unless delegations are given the go-ahead to arrive at a realistic common denominator on their leaders' dreams.

Chief US delegate Max Kampelman is strongly in favour of President Reagan's space plans, but he can only make headway in Geneva if the White House comes to realise that in a nuclear age there can be no shirking the obligation to engage in dialogue and to strike compromise.

As far as America's contribution is concerned progress at the Geneva talks will depend on the United States being prepared to expressly accept the Soviet Union as its equal in world power terms.

Victor Karpov in contrast can only return to Moscow with a treaty draft ready to sign if his superiors in the Soviet politbureau that equality with the United States in terms of power politics is as much as the communist system can hope to gain at the talks.

The way the superpowers set about dealing with space plans will be the acid test of whether they are capable of making the transition from dream to reality.

The East-West conflict is political, so it can only be kept in check, let alone resolved, by political means.

Both military pacts are now capable of delivering a lethal nuclear rejoinder even if they themselves are dealt a fatal blow.

That is the foremost effect of nuclear deterrence, the basic tenet being that the first side to use nuclear weapons will be the second to die.

In the lee of nuclear arms a maximum of security has thus been achieved — inasmuch as security at all depends on military might.

Logic stipulates that nothing meaningful can be added to a maximum.

Greater security would naturally be ensured if both superpowers were to agree to jointly and simultaneously replace the present deterrent system by an anti-missile shield on both sides.

But it would be wildly improbable to expect that to happen. The two political systems are so absolutely opposed to each other that any such joint move can effectively be ruled out.

Hopes of some such cooperative settlement being reached at Geneva are sure to be dashed, and in reality such hopes run counter to the major motive behind President Reagan's Star Wars initiative, which is mistrust of Soviet readiness to abide by treaty obligations.

This mistrust may not be entirely unwarranted, but it is certainly exaggerated. There isn't a single sector of militarily usable technology in which the Soviet Union could possibly hope to establish a lead on the technological world power, America, that a dynamic United States couldn't make good with ease.

The race to make anti-satellite weapons, started by Moscow but clearly won by Washington, is the latest proof of this point.

Are the Geneva talks doomed to failure before they have even really begun? Not necessarily. But success can only be a possibility if at least two basic decisions are reached.

Based on the will to acknowledge Moscow as an equal, America must be prepared to give the Soviet Union a credible assurance that it will not be putting all the products of US research to military use.

Moscow for its part must be prepared to limit its systematic inclination toward secrecy and agree to effective checks to make sure that agreements reached are upheld.

There would seem to be no other way of surmounting deep-seated mistrust of treaty arrangements with the Soviet Union, especially in America, let alone of the United States acknowledging on paper that the Soviet Union is its equal.

So preventive arms control is what is needed, and politics must preferably not continue to be undermined by one new technical refinement after another.

The 1985 Geneva talks are thus not simply the continuation of the talks abandoned in 1983. They are an entirely new stage set with very much higher hurdles to clear.

Walther Stützle

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 13 March 1985)

Fascination and fear in the gallery at the talks

Ninety Americans and 100 Soviet specialists — diplomats, experts, engineers, scientists and interpreters — have met in Geneva to "turn over a new leaf in the East-West dialogue."

This hopeful turn of phrase was used by Bonn Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher after his three-hour stopover in Moscow for talks with Mr Gromyko.

President Reagan says he will do what he can to ensure the conference's success. He hopes and prays that the Soviet leaders will do the same.

Pravda says an arms control agreement is both absolutely essential and feasible.

The Europeans are following progress in Geneva both fascinatedly and fearfully. The Old World well knows that if war were to be waged between the Big Two it would be in Europe where the largest arms stockpiles in history have been amassed.

So America's allies are fully entitled both to information and to consultation and a say in how the US handles the talks.

"All individual arms control and disarmament topics are directly interlinked," says Henning Wegener, Bonn's ambassador to the Geneva disarmament talks.

Richard Burt, the US ambassador-elect in Bonn, is chairman of the Nato Special Consultation Group in which America briefs its allies monthly and gives them a hearing.

"Never have there been such intensive and far-reaching consultations as at present," he says, "and on all three negotiation topics up for discuss[ion in] Geneva."

They are, first, the superpower[s' in]tercontinental ballistic missiles, sec[ond] the intermediate-range nuclear mis[siles] in Europe and, third, space weapon[s].

Egon Bahr, the Social Democrat[ic dis]armament expert and architect of Bo[nn's] treaties with Moscow and Warsaw [in the] early 1970s, feels President Rea[gan's] Strategic Defence Initiative is "a gi[ant] US challenge to Europe and Japan."

Now is Europe's hour, Herr B[ahr] says. If the Old World fails to sum[mon] the strength to make a joint answ[er it] will be mere "poppycock" to refer i[n fu]ture to Europe's role.

"Western Europe would then be [just] as much an industrial and security [vas]sal of the United States as the Ea[st] European states are satellites of [the] other superpower."

He warns against Bonn making a fi[nan]cial contribution toward the SDI yet [dec]lining to take part in France's Eur[eka] space programme for lack of funds. I[f that] happens, he says, there will be a deep [rift] in relations between Bonn and Paris.

First and foremost the current q[ues]tion is what is now to happen in Ge[neva] in practice. The talks are likely to t[ake] years and to be crisis-torn, especial[ly if] Moscow tries to drive a propag[anda] wedge between Western Europe and [the] United States by launching an ong[oing] campaign against SDI.

The SDI does not yet exist bu[t it] clearly already serves the Russians [as a] pretext for refusing to scrap mi[ssile] stockpiles of all kinds that do.

Hermann Bo[hle]

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 13 March 1[985])

Continued from page 1

Union's part in seeking good relations with the United States in all sectors.

He specifically mentioned in this context the modernisation of America's defences, support for its friends and readiness to face up to Soviet challenges.

This old policy is unlikely to make any headway in the new Europe of East-West relations. Three points would need to be taken if the West were to emerge from a no-through road in world affairs:

First, no matter how indispensable a stable balance of military power may be for detente, it alone cannot be enough.

If all you are doing is to threaten to keep the Soviet Union at bay, you aren't going to give the Russians much incentive to seek cooperation.

Moscow can't be forced to adopt a constructive approach. The Kremlin will only deign to do so when it too stands to benefit.

Second, the West must rid its Ostpolitik of the deadweight of ideology. Detente is a means of establishing international order, not one of spreading democratic values in the Soviet empire.

That was self-evident to President Nixon and Secretary of State Kissinger when they proposed, in the early 1970s, to set up a "peace structure." Order, they realised, must come before justice.

Mr Reagan and his supporters in contrast give priority to putting their own scale of values into practice.

That is no way to set about defusing ties between ideological rivals. Detente is, as Dr Kissinger once noted, "a strategy for relations between adversaries," not a prescription for harmony.

Third, as long as the roads to a major breakthrough are barred small steps forward are that much more important. They are the only way to sustain hope and keep resignation at bay.

One such step would have been for President Reagan to attend Mr Chernenko's funeral in Moscow. Another would be swift agreement in Geneva to abide by the Salt 1 and 2 missile ceilings for the duration of the present talks.

Talks between the superpowers on crisis areas, such as the recent talks on the Middle East in Vienna, ought to be continued. Nothing can come of detente if protracted arms control talks are its only medium.

What if none of all this happens? Then the superpowers will dig in in their respective positions. In both Moscow and Washington there is already talk of the other superpower not being all that important for their respective well-being.

"We attach great importance to normalisation of relations with the United States," Mr Gorbachev said shortly before taking over as Soviet leader, "but at the same time we are not forgetting for one moment that the world does not consist of this one country."

In America there are similar signs of a desire to get on with world affairs, preferably without the Russians.

Mr Reagan's Star Wars vision of an America with its own protective shield against Soviet missile attack is the most visible expression of this desire.

Its implication is that America has no need of joint security; it can ensu[re its] own.

But in the nuclear age the world p[ow]ers cannot shirk their duty to seek [joint] solutions for the security of all.

Chancellor Kohl was right to r[evise] his snap decision to fly to Moscow [for] Mr Chernenko's funeral, but nei[ther] he nor other Western leaders [are] any substitute for the absent US [pre]sident.

They must urge Mr Reagan to s[how] greater flexibility. Understandably [they] may feel obliged to demonstrate so[lid]arity with the United States in view [of] the Geneva talks, but in the long [run] this restraint will do justice neithe[r to] European interests nor to Europe's [re]sponsibilities.

They would stand to lose most i[f de]tente between the Big Two were to [re]main stuck in the mud of mistrust in [the] Gorbachev era.

Christoph Bert[ram]

(Die Zeit, Hamburg, 15 March 1[985])

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Friedrich Reinecke Verlag GmbH, 23 Schoene Aus[sicht], D-2000 Hamburg 76, Tel.: 22 85 1, Telex: 02-14733

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HOME AFFAIRS

FDP showing in polls can only help Bonn coalition

Hannoversche Allgemeine

[E]lections in the Saar and West Berlin [...]this month were no test of how the [Bonn] coalition is faring in the middle of [its] term.

[Bo]th in the Saar, which Oskar Lafon[tain]e and the Social Democrats won [from] a Christian Democrat/Free Democrat coalition, and West Berlin, held by [Eb]erhard Diepgen (CDU), were purely [local] affairs.

[Ne]ither Lafontaine nor Diepgen is a [na]me from Bonn. Their personalities were the dominating influeneces of [the] respective polls.

[O]f course, reverberations of sorts [hav]e been felt in Bonn: even Chancellor [Kohl], an eternal optimist, was forced to [conc]ede that the CDU's defeat in the [Saar] strengthened the hand of his anta[gonis]t, Franz Josef Strauss.

[Be]cause *Land* elections affect the [com]position of the upper house, the [Bundes]rat, the loss of any strength there [for] the CDU means that it is weaker in [relat]ion to Strauss' CDU.

[Str]auss sees his hand strengthened. [H]e is bound to increase the pressure [on] Kohl and the coalition.

[Bu]t Kohl would have been even [wors]e off if the Free Democrats had not [done] so well in bother elections.

[Kohl], unlike Strauss, values the FDP. [H]e would like to see the alliance [contin]ue past 1987, when the next gen[eral] election is due.

[Be]fore these two *Land* elections, [the]re were doubts that the Free Demo[crats] would even get more than five per [cent] of the vote.

The fact that they did more — increased their vote in both *Länder* — will give them a new self confidence and strengthen their influence both in Bonn and the other *Länder*.

This improved image can only help the coalition in Bonn.

Although the loss of the Saar under the colourless Werner Zeyer is a blow for the CDU, the performance of the FDP is really a more significant factor for the coalition.

The Social Democrats still have a lot of problems, although Lafontaine's win is the first time since 1966 that the party has won a *Land* from the CDU.

Delight at the performance is likely to be quickly muted.

The annihilation of Hans Apel in Berlin is a little misleading. It should not be taken to indicate a wider trend.

The result certainly was a fiasco. West Berlin is an SPD stronghold. It used to get 60 per cent of the vote.

This time it got a little more than 30 per cent even though it was led by a heavyweight in Apel, a man who at one time was even regarded as a possible successor to Helmut Schmidt as Chancellor.

But the main result for the party is that Apel, once a standard bearer for the Schmidt wing of the party, has been pushed on to the sidelines.

By contrast, Lafontaine, from the left wing of the party, has gained in importance. His influence is waxing.

Apel's defeat is a hard blow to those groups in the SPD who are for pragmatic politics without blinkers. In his stead there is now a man, Lafontaine, who will have his effect on the SPD nationwide. He does not fight shy of the nationalisation of key industries and he would bring the Federal Republic out of the western alliance.

There is a likelihood, however, that the success in the Saar was a Pyrrhic victory, because it has thrown the party into confusion.

Willy Brandt's contention, made after the Hesse election in 1982, that there was a majority to be found to the left of the CDU/CSU/FDP coalition has so far proved illusory. Brandt's favoured son, Lafontaine, has given new life to this dream.

Many true Social Democrats are dubious of the notion that the politically talented Lafontaine can, with his success in the Saar, now guide the SPD on a course to the left.

The Greens will be paying attention to this. If the new government head in

Continued on page 6



Oskar Lafontaine . . . Brandt's choice. (Photo: Poly-Press)

Lafontaine, the shooting star of the SPD's left wing

What they need in the Saar is somebody to look up to, said a disappointed CDU man when the results were known.

Well, the man who climbed up there on to the pedestal was Oskar Lafontaine, 41, chairman of the *Land* SPD and mayor of the capital, Saarbrücken.

He led the party to throw out the ruling CDU/FDP coalition by winning 49.2 per cent of the vote and taking 27 of the 51 seats in the assembly.

Without Lafontaine, the SPD would never have won. The new prime minister has natural political talent. He has been mayor of Saabrücken since being elected at the age of 33 in 1976.

At the beginning of the 1980s, he sensed the changing mood that eventually led to the break up of the SPD/FDP coalition. He made himself a champion of internal opposition to Chancellor Helmut Schmit's defence policies and called for a change in the party's political thinking.

Lafontaine, a member of the peace movement, took up other causes in the run up to these elections.

He championed the workers of Arbed-Saarstahl, the ailing steel giant. In the final phases of the election campaign a poster appeared that did no harm at all.

It showed the candidate's head against a gloomy background of this old industrial state. Lafontaine has the reputation of being capable, if to varying degrees during his term of office as mayor of Saarbrücken.

It is a mystery how he had time to write a book as well as fulfill the demands his office made upon him.

It is well-known that he has an authoritarian style with subordinates as well as with party supporters. His life style does not altogether meet the approval of the old, modest "middle-class" citizens.

Perhaps Lafontaine's attitudes to subordinates has something to do with the fact that the state is small and everyone knows everyone else, and this does not adversely effect administrative efficiency and the economy either, because they are all likely to pull together in the same boat.

The Saar's premier-designate has avoided posing as the victor. In his statement, "The electors have decided that we shall take on the problems, now we shall do just that," conceals understatement.

Lafontaine now has to deal with reality, that is riddled with state finance problems, Arbed-Saarstahl that continues to be in considerable trouble and has 14,000 employees and any number indirectly dependent on the organisation, and a civil service in the Saar that is only going to adjust to a "eco-socialism" and "environmental protection" courses with difficulty.

The celebrations for "Oskar" in Saarbrücken on the evening of the election were almost hysterical. This made one thing clear: voters in the Saar have not put a "new" left SPD in the saddle.

Behind all this there stands a man rather than the idea of a new political party.

Whether Lafontaine is an "item that can be exported" can only be shown by future developments. First he has to serve in the state.

Eckhart Kauntz

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 12 March 1985)

[T]he election result in the Saar is interesting. The election in West Ber[lin] has a national significance.

[T]he Germans capital is exempt from [...]ing political experiments. The [We]st Berliners have one man to thank [for] that, who in a short space of time in [gover]nment has acquired considerable [stat]ure, Eberhard Diepgen.

[H]is election shows that at last he has [emer]ged from the shadow of his prede[cess]or, the present federal president, [Rich]ard von Weizsäcker.

[T]he FDP has profited to no small ex[tent] from the stature he has won as [mayor]. Obviously many West Berlin vo[ters] decided in favour of a "coalition [...]tion".

[T]hey wanted to have Diepgen as the [may]or of West Berlin, but they did not [want] the CDU to have an absolute ma[jori]ty, so they gave their second vote to [the] FDP.

[T]he result has been splendid — a [stron]g middle-class coalition with a suc[cess]ful mayor. West Berlin remains on a [soli]d political course.

[T]he West Berlin SPD, and particular[ly] Hans Apel, have had to pay the score. [It i]s a pity for Hans Apel.

[T]he sorcerer's apprentices in the Alt[ern]ative List have also had to pay the [...]ing and remain excluded from [pol]itical influence.

Apel's misfortune in West Berlin balances out the astonishing breakthrough Oskar Lafontaine has made in the Saar.

Diepgen emerges in Berlin as his own man



Eberhard Diepgen . . . hand on the Berlin tiller. (Photo: Worek)

Lafontaine forced the Greens below the five-per-cent barrier and opened the way for the SPD to gain an absolute majority of seats in the Saar state parliament.

This has given considerable satisfaction to the SPD's left wing. But would Lafontaine's policies, that included the cry "Out of Nato" promise the SPD an absolute majority, while Apel's policies would lead the SPD to defeat? No.

Werner Zeyer's tragic role points to the truth in the Saar.

As head of government he was held responsible for the economic emergency that prevails in the state. He did what was possible, but the CDU got the box on the ears. The FDP gained manifestly from this as well as the SPD.

Many in the Saar were asking what could be done. What will now be done with Lafontaine, the demagogue, to whom the Greens have flocked in crowds?

Chancellor Helmut Kohl does not need to quarrel with this election result. West Berlin remains West Berlin. The FDP has been strengthened by the two election results, including FDP chairman Martin Bangemann.

The SPD has been thrust into deeper mental strife at full gallop by Lafontaine.

This can console Chancellor Kohl for the loss of the Saar's votes in the Bundesrat, the Upper House.

Wilfried Hertz-Eichenrode

(Die Welt, Bonn, 11 March 1985)

■ DEFENCE

Ex-lance corporal takes over as soldiers' complaints man

Weiskirch . . . change of heart.
(Photo: dpa)

CDU defence expert Willi Weiskirch has been chosen to succeed Social Democrat Karl-Wilhelm Berkhan as armed forces commissioner.

Weiskirch, 62, will set something of a trend. He is a former lance corporal. All his predecessors were former commissioned officers.

Herr Berkhan, 69, served two terms, 10 years, as the Bundestag ombudsman who looks into servicemen's grievances.

It is an honorary appointment involving an annual report to the Bundestag in addition to work as a court of appeal and investigator of complaints.

The Bonn parliamentary parties are agreed that Weiskirch, 62, is an excellent choice as the man to take an impartial, unbureaucratic look at servicemen's grievances.

He began his political career as a youth leader, but he has never been a career man in short trousers. He is a man who has held his own in life yet retained an open mind and heart for the young.

He was not always enthusiastic about the Bundeswehr. As editor of *Die Wacht*, the Catholic Youth newspaper, he was strongly opposed to German rearmament.

Konrad Adenauer invited him to the Palais Schaumburg, the Chancellor's Office in Bonn, to explain why rearmament was indispensable, but Weiskirch long refused to be convinced.

Eventually he came to terms with the principle of *innere Führung*, or democratic leadership, of the new armed forces. The Korean War and Soviet nuclear armament persuaded him that a German defence contribution was essential.

Born in 1923, he was on active service for most of the Second World War. Very few in his age group survived to tell the tale, but those who did were determined Germany should never wage war again.

He was one of them. He was badly injured during the Wehrmacht's retreat from the Balkans. A shell fired by a T 34 tank smashed his knee, and his old war injury has lately been giving him trouble again.

But he no longer needs to use crutches and the doctors say he will soon be able to walk without a stick too.

Weiskirch is a tall man from the Sauerland region of Westphalia. He has an infectious laugh well suited to the card game and conversation over a glass of beer he so enjoys.

From 1952 to 1970 he was editor-in-chief of *Die Wacht* and *Mann in der Zeit*, the highest-circulation Roman Catholic newspapers, and he has remained a journalist at heart.

From 1970 to 1976 he was CDU spokesman, facing the Press from the other side of the table as it were, under CDU leaders Rainer Barzel and Helmut Kohl.

He has since been one of the busiest MPs when it comes to putting pen to paper. He writes commentaries for newspapers, works for TV and contributes to books.

As chairman of the CDU/CSU defence policy working party he naturally concentrates on defence issues, but he is no stranger to a wider range of topics.

In keeping with his background he remains keenly interested in youth and church affairs. He is also interested in welfare policy and foreign affairs.

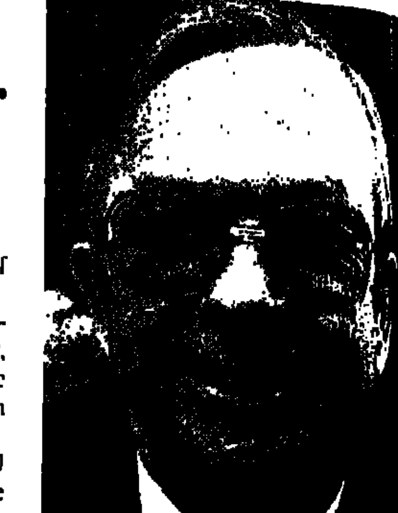
He is resolute but not insulting in the way he presents his case. He is keen ... abide by principles but also to arrive ... a balanced viewpoint and ready to compromise.

As a former lance-corporal he will ... the first NCO to serve as armed forces commissioner.

His predecessors have included ... general (Helmut von Grolmann), an ad-miral (Guido Heye), a colonel (Fri... Rudolf Schultz), a warrant officer (Mat-thias Hoogen) and a lieutenant (Ka... Wilhelm Berkhan).

Rudi Kilgu...

(Allgemeine Zeitung, Mainz, 2 March 19...)


Berkhan . . . disliked red tape.
(Photo ...)

Retiring commissioner at ease with generals and privates

Karl-Wilhelm Berkhan, who has retired after 10 years as the Bundestag's armed forces commissioner, was the first Social Democrat MP to serve as a Luftwaffe reservist. By 1958 he had risen to the rank of captain.

He was elected to the Bundestag in 1957 and was an early and undogmatic champion of the armed forces. He was strongly in favour of a fair deal in deciding who was to serve as a conscript and who wasn't.

He also advocated *innere Führung*, or democratic leadership in the Bundeswehr, and took a dim view of red tape.

He would willingly have served earlier as armed forces commissioner but was initially ruled out by coalition job-sharing agreements.

Now, after 10 years in office, the Bundeswehr has held a ceremony in Koblenz in his honour and the Bundestag Speaker has held a reception to mark the end of his term.

It was 10 years without a whisper of scandal, and that is easier said than done. The first commissioner, Helmuth von Grolmann, hit the headlines and had to quit in 1961 after only two years.

His successor, Admiral Hellmuth Heye, also had to step down after claiming in a magazine article that the Bundeswehr was becoming a state within a state and a law unto itself.

But the dust gradually subsided, and the armed forces commissioner only hit the headlines when he submitted his annual report to the Bundestag.

Yet commissioners Matthias Hoogen and Fritz-Rudolf Schültz constantly complained of inadequate parliamentary backing.

Herr Berkhan transferred from the Defence Ministry, where he was parliamentary state secretary to Helmut Schmidt. So he had inside knowledge of the Bundeswehr.

Relations with the Bundestag and its defence committee were soon clarified. Old complaints have long been forgotten.

His job was to monitor and maintain the democratic running of the armed forces as a parliamentary watchdog ombudsman. He was held in high esteem both in the Bundeswehr and by ... wider public and unanimously re-elected in 1980.

Servicemen, especially recruits, ... gained confidence in him. Berkhan is ... former teacher who seems always in ... good mood.

Service personnel realised that ... took complaints seriously. He served them as a legal counsellor, experienced adviser and expert on service views.

He was born in a working-class district of Hamburg in 1915, served an apprenticeship in mechanical engineering and saw active service as a squadron leader in the Luftwaffe.

After the war he was a plain-clothes police officer, a trades college instructor and a senior schoolteacher. In the Bundestag the late Fritz Erler interested him in defence topics.

He is a personal friend of Helmut Schmidt; they go yachting together on ... lake north of Hamburg.

Berkhan was unequalled in seeking and making contact with service personnel from privates to generals.

He often arrived unheralded ... asked superior officers to leave the room so he could talk with ordinary soldiers.

Democratic leadership of the Bundeswehr and the idea of the citizen in uniform have taken root despite difficulties, and the armed forces commissioner deserves much of the credit.

During his term of office the commissioner has earned great respect and confidence in the Bundeswehr. That ... given his watchdog role, was far from ... matter of course.

Ekkehard Kohl...

(General-Anzeiger, Bonn, 2 March 19...)

FINANCE

Dollar value hurting US as well, says Stoltenberg

...en a strong economic power such ... United States could survive long ... with such high budget, trading and ... account deficits, says Bonn Fin... Minister Gerhard Stoltenberg. ... Federal Republic had managed so ... through a policy of economic stabil... to keep a distance from American ...est rates. "But we can't cut our...s off entirely," says Stoltenberg. In ... wide-ranging interview with Rudolf ... in the Hamburg weekly, *Die Zeit*, ... foresees an improvement in ex...ge rates between the dollar and ... Western currencies. West Ger... would be one of the beneficiaries. ... the issue of subsidies, he defends ...outs to agriculture by saying that ... do not fully appreciate what ... losses German farmers suffered ... result of last year's European Com...ity farm price review.

...tion: The course the dollar ex...ge rate has taken since simultane... market intervention by several cen... banks would seem to indicate that ... moves are ineffective in the long ...

...wer: We agree with the Bundes... that intervention cannot reverse a ... and fundamental market trend, ... times of speculative fluctuation it ... as a useful warning to those who ...ine the exchange rate is predes... to head in only one direction.

...litical decisions must be reached ... there can be a fundamental ... of course in the exchange rate of ... dollar. The US government and ...gress in Washington still urgently ... to decide on a substantial reduc... in the US budget deficit as the prer...site for much lower interest rates.

Q: It is argued in the United States ... strong dollar reflects the strength ... the US economy.

A: The dollar at its present excessive ...change rate is harming the United ...es too. More and more export in...stries and sectors of US agriculture ... becoming uncompetitive. Protec...ism is increasingly discussed as an ...tion.

Above all, US foreign policy interests ...ld be jeopardised if higher dollar in...est rates and a further increase in the ...ange rate of the US currency were ...ing the debt crisis in Latin America ...head.

This aspect, the risk of Latin Ameri... debts getting out of control, is paid ... little attention in political debate in ... United States and, in some cases, in ...tern Europe.

Q: The American government seems ... yet to be totally indifferent to such ...estic and foreign policy risks. How ... can Washington maintain this ...?

A: The US government is now saying ...re clearly than before the Presiden... elections that budget problems ur...tly need solving and must be given ...rity.

The subject is discussed more openly, ... the Reagan administration has yet to ...ide to what extent it is prepared to ...end its proposals on reducing the ...eral budget deficit to come to terms ... the Democratic Congressional ma...ity.

A compromise seems unlikely to be reached unless there is a less drastic increase in projected defence spending, yet both the United States and its partners badly need this compromise.

Q: Is the US administration perhaps relying on the budget deficit decreasing automatically as the economy regains momentum?

A: It is certainly surprising that despite forecasts to the contrary the pace of the US economic recovery has so far been so dynamic.

But it would be very dangerous if by virtue of this encouraging start US politicians were again to relegate the urgent problem of America's excessive budget and current account deficit to the second rank of decisions to be taken.

In the long term not even the world's strongest economic power can survive unharmed such a high level of budget, trading and current account deficits.

Q: What would happen if it were to try to do so?

A: The gravest danger, as seen and warned of by the Federal Reserve System and many US economists, would be the constant increase in capital imported from other parts of the world.

That would lead to interest rates in general reaching a dangerously high level. We have so far succeeded by means of a policy of economic stability in keeping our distance from US interest rates, but not even we can decouple entirely from the trend, as developments in recent weeks have shown.

For other Western European countries, let alone for the indebted Third World countries, this dependence is even stronger and more dangerous.

Q: So it is hardly surprising that consideration is being given outside the United States to external measures by which the skyrocketing dollar exchange rate can be slowed down. How do you feel about such ideas?

A: A number of proposals have been made, but none of them are any use. Exchange controls in respect of capital transfer are unacceptable, while a hefty increase in Western European interest rates would call economic recovery into question.

What we must do is consistently pursue policies of economic stability and so strengthen confidence in our currency. Despite successes in bringing down the US inflation rate, inflation in America is twice what it is in Germany.

I am convinced, and so are most experts, that fundamental data changes in the United States will lead, at some future date, to a change in exchange rates between the dollar and other leading Western currencies. It will be a change that mainly benefits Europe in general and the Federal Republic of Germany in particular.

Q: Does the current weakness of European currencies reflect the weakness of economies on this side of the Atlantic?

A: We can only gain confidence if we try even harder to make our economy stronger and even higher in performance but, as the debate here and elsewhere in Western Europe has shown, this has yet to be universally appreciated.

US public opinion reacts with growing amazement to political trends such as the decision to drop out of the rat race of industrial society and suchlike fashionable aberrations that form part of the picture the Federal Republic presents.

Yet there are also most encouraging signs of economic recovery in Germany. At the beginning of this year domestic orders booked by the mechanical engineering industry for instance were nearly 20 per cent higher than the year before, showing that our indicators too are on the mend.

Q: But surely unemployment overshadows even the most encouraging news items.

A: Unemployment has indeed decreased in America as it has increased in Europe, but that is hardly surprising given such different growth rates.

So economic and labour market policy debate at a serious level has called for greater flexibility in the labour market and for increasing emphasis on more mobility.

The leading Western industrial nations, regardless whether they are governed by Christian Democratic, Liberal, Socialist or Conservative administrations, were agreed that we must break up structures that have grown rigid.

The Promotion of Employment Act is our first step in this direction, and it is an extremely important one, including wider scope for job contracts limited to specified lengths of time and for part-time employment.

That may clash with the mentality of major organisations and views on maintaining existing legal rights; but it is up to unions and employers to think it over, and to do so urgently.

Q: Many firms would sooner work overtime than hire extra staff.

A: Readiness to hire extra staff is a test of the social free-market economy. Employers have shown an outstanding sense of responsibility in training apprentices; they must now show their mettle in taking on extra staff.

Q: You are calling for greater flexibility in the labour market. Isn't Family Affairs Minister Heiner Geissler stabbing you in the back, as it were, by calling for a 12-month job security guarantee for young mothers? Surely that will mean young women stand a worse chance of finding a job.

A: What is involved is an extension of the existing guarantee from 6 to 12 months. Those who favour it see it in the context of temporary job contracts. We shall have to discuss the matter further.

DIE ZEIT

Q: Tax relief is a further aspect of breaking up rigid structures. Have you not been too hesitant in taking steps in this direction?

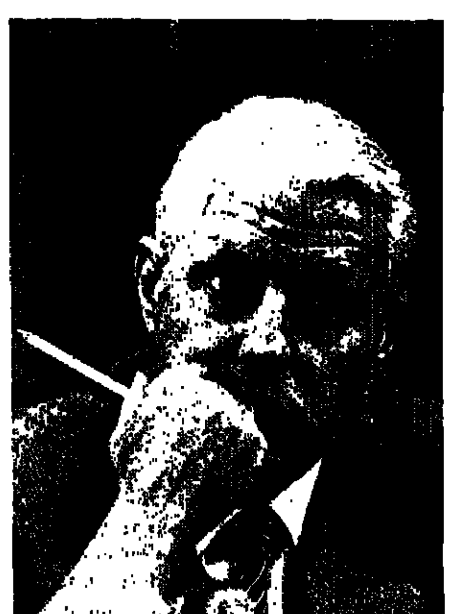
A: Our first priority was to reduce the public borrowing requirement — from DM70bn in 1982 to DM40bn in 1985.

We are even less in a position to shoulder an excessive deficit than the United States is. We depend much more heavily on exports.

We have reduced corporation taxes and are in the process of reducing income tax by DM20bn in two stages.

The initial debate on further measures relates to the lifespan of the next Bundestag. We want to impose strict limits on expenditure to establish leeway for further cuts in income and corporation tax from 1987. That is the coalition's declared intention.

Q: So consolidation and stability enjoy absolute priority as far as you are concerned. But even in your own party there are politicians who are busy planning how to redistribute government money. Are family policymakers for one not jeopardising your chances of achieving your target?


Finance Minister Stoltenberg . . . defends farm handouts.
(Photo: Richard Schulze-Vorberg)

A: Budget decisions relating to family affairs policy form part of sound financial policies.

Besides, partly at my suggestion we have agreed not to embark on any more legislation in the lifetime of the present Bundestag that will impose a burden on the budget.

We had to call it a day now because we would otherwise have been sure to run into difficulties. But on the basis of decisions already reached we can both continue the course of consolidation and go ahead with tax cuts.

Q: You would have made much more headway on budget consolidation if the government had set about axing subsidies.

A: Reducing subsidies remains a difficult task. In theory everyone is in favour of axing subsidies, but when it comes to specific proposals support perceptibly declines.

Q: You have not just reduced subsidies; you have increased them even. Do you feel criticism of the extra billions ploughed into agriculture last year is justified?

A: The critics have yet to fully appreciate what heavy losses German farmers suffered as a result of last year's European Community farm price review. Despite the temporary tax relief, farmers are still in a tight spot.

The situation has arisen because the Common Agricultural Policy has to be drastically realigned soon to ensure that Common Market subsidies can be reduced from an unjustifiably high level.

Q: We now have national subsidies for farmers while we continue to remit increasingly high amounts to the European Community in Brussels. What fresh financial burdens lie ahead in connection with the European Community?

A: From 1986 an extra DM4.5bn is to be remitted. That poses a serious problem for national budget policy.

Yet the Community has to be helped.

New political tasks are at stake, such as future programmes of European research and development.

Q: At present many people are expecting virtual miracles to result from European monetary cooperation. Has the Ecu caused undue confusion?

A: We are in favour of stepping up monetary cooperation, but it must be based on treaty arrangements and on monetary policy requirements.

Derestriction of capital transfer in several European Community countries must then be given priority. Free trans-

Continued on page 8

■ TRADE

East is East and West is West, but business is business

Trade with the East Bloc brings out the fat communist versus the thin communist argument, among others. Major contracts such as the deal under which Western Europe buys Siberian natural gas remain controversial. Many say it is dangerous to develop a reliance for energy on the Soviet Union. Some military and political strategists say it is suicidal for the West to pay Russia for enormous supplies of natural gas with the latest in electronics and at the same time give it enormous credit. Despite all this, the West continues to trade with the East Bloc. In this article for *Mannheimer Morgen*, Kurt Hörold looks at the East Bloc countries and their trading habits.

Western European governments, bankers and investors look with favour on the Comecon countries, apart from Poland and Rumania, because of their good reputation as debtors.

They pay interest promptly and repay loans when they are due without demanding new credit.

Between 1981 and 1984, the Comecon states cut their foreign debt from $75 billion to $65 billion by export dumping and import restrictions.

The Soviet Union alone repaid a third of its hard currency foreign debts within three years, reducing the amount owed from $12.5 billion to below $8 billion.

East Germany has slashed its debt from $12 billion to $9 billion, although in 1983 and 1984 it received credit worth DM2 billion (about $650 million).

The East Bloc is in the black worldwide, although the position is bleak when compared with the industrialised countries. ($20 billion compared to $1,150 billion, or roughly a ratio of 1:55).

This is all the more astonishing since the Soviet Union, in terms of natural and energy resources, is one of the top countries of the world. The enormous internal debts of the industrialised nations equal this out.

The slogan in the Comecon countries is: export at any price. Dumping prices are common. This causes anger in the sectors in West European industry involved that have to cope with high wage costs. The price difference can be as much as 60 per cent.

Anyone who goes into a department store or shop can see proof of this with special offers tagged "Made in Poland", "Made in Czechoslovakia" or "Made in the GDR" — the German Democratic Republic.

Hungarian wine or tinned goods are offered at prices just as favourable as the same products from Bulgaria. Furniture from East Germany enjoys just as much popularity as does musical instruments.

In this country some producers complain that the prices are such that for them they do not cover raw material costs.

One of our major department store chains landed a success. Last autumn the store bought an unusually large batch of lead crystal "Lausitzer Glass".

It was so brilliantly coloured that it put all others to shame. The selling price was so low, that the items were sold just as fast as they could be unpacked. Meissner porcelain sells just as well in the West. The best pieces are exported.

But what this means is that when East Germans, Poles or Russians want to buy top quality items of their traditional crafts in their own country, they can't. But Western visitors sometimes can — at one of the shops where foreign currency shops is handled. Or the souvenir shops in hotels for foreigners.

At these places there is everything to be had for foreign currency, or after changing money into the national currency at ludicrous exchange rates, and often unrealistically high prices are charged.

For example one of the much sought-after Russian lacquered boxes painted with fairytale scenes can be bought in a bazaar in Tehran for a few dollars.

In Russia they cost 10 times as much. Yet the Tehran price included the bazaar trader's cut.

The rigid exchange rate between the West mark and the East mark of one for one is rigidly maintained. Western bankers value the hard Deutschmark at four times as much.

The rouble exchange rate is even worse. In places like Moscow, Leningrad or Tashkent, it is between DM3.30 and DM3.60. The rate is confirmed every two weeks by the Russian state bank.

In West Germany, the rouble slips to a market value of 60 pfennigs because few want it.

Despite enormous natural resources, including energy sources, despite an extensive industrial and labour force potential, and despite immeasurable gold reserves, the socialist leadership in Moscow has not been able to create an international value for its currency. No one wants the rouble. Everyone chases after the dollar.

Nowhere in the Comecon states is there free trading with the Soviet currency. There is a "transfer rouble" used for commercial transactions. Between Magdeburg and Vladivostock, eyes shine as soon as a "greenback" is produced. Everyone strives to acquire dollars.

Bureaucrats in Moscow, Warsaw, East Berlin, Prague, Budapest, Sofia and Bucharest produce five-year plans. It is rare that these are kept to, however, which has certain consequences for the West.

Since the end of the 1970s the Moscow planning committee has planned for an annual grain harvest of between 230 and 240 million tonnes. But regularly there is a short-fall of between 50 and 60 million tonnes. This shortage has to be made up for in the West, for extremely expensive dollars, cash on the table.

Dollars are scarce in the Kremlin; so Russian transport planes fly into the West tonnes of gold and launch it on the gold markets here. The result is that the price for wheat, maize and feedstuffs risos and the gold price drops.

In January this year the world gold price for the first time in a long time dropped below the $300 per ounce barrier.

The extent of gold sales are just as secret in the East as is the volume of gold production in the Soviet Union, which, after South Africa, is the second major producer in the world.

Western observers believe that in 1984 Moscow sold 130 tonnes of gold, almost twice as much as in 1983, when it was recorded that the Russians placed 60 tonnes on Western markets.

But this is nothing compared to what happened in 1981 and 1982 when it is believed that Western buyers then had to pick up 280 and 207 tonnes of gold respectively.

Between 1980 and 1984, worldwide, new gold offered on the markets was about 1,700 tonnes annually on average. South Africa was the main producer country.

Constant Soviet grain purchases have a positive effect on freight rates for grain carriers. (It is estimated that this year there will be record purchases by Russia of between 42 to 45 million tonnes.)

One Greek shipowner is re-activating his mothballed tonnage. His ships are now sailing heavily laden, chartered by the Russian government to carry wheat, maize and feedstuffs across the oceans of the world to Russian ports.

The USA, Canada, Australia and Argentina are overjoyed that they can get rid of their surpluses at stable prices paid in cash. Their farmers profit considerably from the fact that Comecon state planning fails to fed its own peoples.

Soviet-West Europe trade flourishes. Trade between the East and the West touched DM23 billion last year. Nevertheless all in the garden is not lovely.

Cocom (Coordination Committee for East-West Trade) embargo list puts a few hurdles in the way of West-East trade.

It prevents individual Western countries from selling to the benefit of the East modern weapons systems, the latest in electronics and nuclear power stations, but mainly goods and manufactures that could have a strategic importance.

Security is given priority over commercial transactions at any price.

This vexes the East Bloc. At the beginning of February additional regulations limiting exports came into effect. The embargo list now includes giant floating docks (they could be used for warships) and plant to produce b[...] craft.

The Americans are none too p[...] when Soviet submarines patrol up down the American coastline, equi[...] with the latest in electronic equip[...] developed in the West and then s[...] transferred to the Russians.

Nevertheless West German com[...] ies have captured some major contr[...] which optimists estimate to be va[...] close to DM20 billion.

West Germany is listed as the [...] sia's top trading partner in the [...] communist world, followed by Finla[...] France and Italy.

In relation to their enormous indus[...] strength, the USA and Japan do not f[...] that highly in trade with Comecon.

Energy questions are at the top of [...] agenda for debate at any Come[...] economic conference.

Sales of crude oil and natural ga[...] as important for Soviet Russia as are [...] purchase of these for the smaller Co[...] econ partners, when possible at pri[...] that are below world prices.

Three years ago Moscow cut oil su[...] plies to its Comecon partners by ten [...] cent.

This happened just after the OP[...] price increased to $34 per barrel. T[...]

Mannheimer MORGEN

Russians wanted to sell their oil at [...] high price to the energy hungry West.

This hit the small countries in [...] East Bloc badly. They had to econo[...] on energy more. When there was [...] possibility of tightening the belt fu[...] there was no alternative for these Co[...] econ countries but to buy in the We[...] where the dollar had begun to soar, [...] ly getting dearer.

Experts believe that Russian oil p[...] duction is now stagnating and that it [...] fall back in the future. Most unde[...] loped sources are located in Siberia.

They can only be tapped with con[...] crable investment, which is beyond [...] sia's resources at the present. Many [...] lieve that superpower Soviet Russia, [...] largest oil consumer in the world, [...] be an oil importer in the 1990s.

Natural gas should now be the sa[...] in time of need. Shortly several West [...] ropean states, mainly France and W[...] Germany, will be getting up to 30 per [...] of their natural gas requirements from [...] beria. Latest reports indicate that Eas[...] Europe will also be getting its own pi[...] line, and will be, like the Western pipe[...] over 4,600 kilometres in length.

Problem number one is who is go[...] to finance this major project? T[...] smaller Comecon states have piled up [...] the past ten years a debt of 15 bil[...] "transfer roubles" with Mscow.

It just is impossible to build a 4,0[...] long gas pipeline through uneconom[...] regions with pumping stations and s[...] rage depots by debts.

Despite all kinds of unpleasant[...] the Soviet Union has created a mo[...] gas supply system in Russia, w[...] 160,000 kilometres of pipeline.

So, despite bad harvests, long-te[...] supply problems in Rumania and P[...] land, energy problems and mountains [...] debts, it appears that the state-plann[...] countries east of the Elbe are on the w[...] up after a run of difficult years.

Industrial production and the gr[...] national product are again on the u[...] swing. It is certain that some of the n[...] rous import restrictions will shortly [...] raised. But the offensive for exports [...] halted.

Kurt Hörold

(Mannheimer Morgen, 5 March 19[...])

Continued from page 3

the Saar succeeds in guiding his party in this direction this could be a threat to the Greens and the Alternative List.

Lafontaine is a politician who has a feel for what his supporters want and think. In the 10 March election he presented the Greens with more problems than solutions. Should they find their salvation in a rigid attitude of rejecting any form of association and remain a fundamental opposition party, or should they make themselves available for a coalition with the SPD? Both positions have their dangers.

The next state election in North Rhine-Westphalia takes place in eight weeks.

Then it will be possible to see if the election on 10 March was a real breakthrough for the FDP and a turning point for the Greens.

Ludwig Harms

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 12 March 1985)

■ CONSUMER PROTECTION

Delight at German discomfort in beer adulteration case

DER TAGESSPIEGEL

Germany has scored an own goal in the big European beer dispute: a [...]arian (of all places) brewer has been [...]ght adulterating beer with acetic acid compounds.

This is illegal in West Germany where [...]r must comprise water, malt, hops [...]d yeast — and nothing else.

The European angle is that Germany [...]s all imported beer to be subject to [...] same regulations.

Otherwise, they fear that foreign [...]ers using chemicals or other additives would have an advantage and be [...] to undercut German prices.

Brewers associations in German say [...] one case of adulteration has come [...]ght and that there is always a black [...]p.

But brewers in other European Com[...]ity countries are jubilant.

At the European Commission in [...]sels Germany's Karl-Heinz Narjes [...] longer in charge of beer; British [...]missioner Lord Cockfield is.

The Commission has not said any[...] directly, but it is not entirely un[...]ppy about Germany's discomfiture.

Other Community countries are [...]dly grinning.

Despite the assurances that the case [...] exception, the news has shocked [...]ean beer drinkers. The damage to [...]many's case in Brussels might be be[...]d repair.

Who now is so sure that other brew[...]ies in Bavaria or elsewhere in Germany always use nothing but the four [...]ditional ingredients?

The leader-writer in *Le Soir*, Brus[...]s, says the Germans should put their [...] house in order before worrying [...]out the quality of imported beer.

The Bonn government recently sub[...]ted a fresh expert report it had [...]ped might bring about a break[...]ough in the beer dispute.

The new line of argument suggested [...] the European Commission was that [...] emphasis should be less on beer [...]an on legal aspects of the use of addi[...]es such as enzymes, tannins, stabilis[...]s, anti-oxidisers, glycerine, saccharine, formalin and a number of acids. Acetic acid was not one of them.

Bonn also wondered what leeway a national government had on subjects for which there were no European Community guidelines or agreements on harmonisation.

The German argument is that as long as the Council of Ministers is unable to agree on uniform European Community provisions national governments must retain sufficient leeway to issue regulations of their own.

Otherwise individual member-countries would run the risk of leaving loopholes in their regulations through which importers, with freedom of access to all Community markets, could drive with a horse and cart.

Consumer protection would then be a dead letter, especially with regard to food and drink, including beer, the annual per capita consumption of which is nearly 150 litres in the Federal Republic and 240 litres in Bavaria.

The legal experts from whom the Bonn government commissioned its report doubt whether the European Court of Justice's ruling six years ago on Cassis de Dijon, a blackcurrant liqueur, invariably applies.

The German authorities had refused to allow the liqueur to be imported and marketed in the Federal Republic on the ground that liqueurs were legally required in Germany to contain a minimum spirit level.

The ban was found by the Luxembourg court to be in breach of Article 30 of the Treaty of Rome, which deals with trade restraints and restrictive practices.

It followed from this ruling that one member-country wasn't entitled to ban the sale of a product legally manufactured and marketed in another Common Market country.

That was the basis on which the European Commission in Brussels called on Bonn to waive its purity ruling and allow beer legally brewed with additives in other Common Market countries into the Federal Republic.

Bonn refuses to do so, partly with reference to the nisin ruling. In 1981 the European Court of Justice found it in order that the Dutch were not allowed to use nisin as an additive in processed cheese for domestic consumption but could use it in cheese for export.

The Luxembourg court faces a difficult decision on pure beer. It began proceedings in February 1982 and officially filed a suit against the Bonn government last July.

The court is called on to arrive at a decision that ought really to be settled politically. It is expected to pass judgment by the end of this year, so for the time being we shall have to wait and see.

But there can be little doubt that traces of toxin found in Bavarian beer have done Germany's case no good whatever.

Hans-Peter Ott

(Der Tagesspiegel, Berlin, 3 March 1985)

Four jailed after 10 million mark wine-scandal hearing

Two brothers have been jailed for four and five years respectively for a 10 million mark wine swindle.

They were sentenced after one of the biggest cases involving wine adulteration ever in West Germany.

The court found that Heinzgünter and Gerd Schmitt from Longuich, near Trier, had sold at least 10.5 million litres of adulterated wine.

The brothers own several vineyards and run a wine business on the Moselle.

They were found guilty by a Mainz court of fraud and adulteration.

So were their manager and a cellarman, who were jailed respectively for two years and 21 months.

They had added liquid and crystal sugar to low-grade wine to imitate the taste and quality of grades as high as Trockenauslese, and had sold it at higher prices.

The court found that the brothers had sold at least 10.5 million litres of adulterated wine between 1972 and 1980 which would have given them a profit of DM10.5m.

The brothers, aged 57 and 52, had ordered roughly 750,000 kilograms of sugar using invoices laundered at a local bank.

At least 520,000 kilograms are said to have been used in wine adulteration. The wine was sold mainly to department stores and supermarkets in northern Germany.

The brothers, who had made detailed statements to the police after initially denying the charges, had misled the licensing authorities into issuing official quality control numbers for their fraudulent product.

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 5 March 1985)

Magazine points finger at 40 breweries

At least 40 German breweries have been accused by the Hamburg magazine *Stern* of using prohibited chemicals in brewing their beer.

Between 1979 and 1984 breweries are said to have bought kilograms of bromoacetic acid and various other prohibited additives from a Munich laboratory.

The chemicals were invoiced as disinfectants and the like, the magazine writes, but a woman member of staff wrote detailed handwritten notes to explain exactly what they were. The chemicals are said, on the basis of the invoices, to have been sent in most cases to master-brewers, brewery managers and executives personally.

Stern also published the findings of a survey of imported beer. Fifteen beers from Belgium, Britain, Denmark, France, East Germany, Holland, Luxembourg and the United States were analysed at the Weihenstephan Brewery Research Institute's laboratories in Bavaria.

In six of them formaldehyde, which is suspected of causing cancer, were identified. It is an extremely effective stabiliser and helps to make the beer foam.

The Munich laboratory, which *Stern* says does a brisk trade in toxins and chemicals is a cooperative subsidiary of a brewery research institute.

A spokesman for the institute's board said that various laboratory chemicals were stocked for regular work and supplied to breweries on request.

Professor Helmut Kieninger, the former head of the laboratory, had not worked for them since 24 October 1984, the spokesman said.

The Munich public prosecutor's office, which has been looking into accusations of prohibited additives being used in brewing beer for months, said the Munich laboratory's files were among the documents it had yet to examine in detail.

As investigations were still in progress there could be no official comment. The names and number of breweries suspected must also remain confidential.

The purity of German beer was called into question when government health service analysts in Erlangen discovered traces of bromoacetic acid in beer from an initial three Bavarian breweries.

Two others were suspected of using prohibited chemicals to make their beer keep fresh longer. Bromoacetic acid is used in many breweries, but only as a cleansing agent. In the First World War it was used to make poison gas. *dpa*

(Bremer Nachrichten, 7 March 1985)

■ THE ENVIRONMENT

Exhausted: the story of a clean car

DIE ZEIT

Ambitious plans by Interior Minister Friedrich Zimmermann to clean up car exhaust gases have foundered on the opposition of other European Community nations.

The outcome of the whole campaign is miserable. For two years there has been talk, debate and increasingly complaint about cleaning up car exhaust emissions. But in the end there has been as good as nothing achieved.

It seems that the clean-up programme, designed to help save German forests, is going to have a difficult time trying to survive.

The long palaver has only increased the risks. If forests are being poisoned by car exhaust fumes, among other things, then the process will continue for many years yet.

Only Zimmermann could describe these results as a personal success.

He regards himself as a cunning tactician, but what he does is confuse solid political management and vigorous pronouncements.

An example: out of the blue he threatened the automobile industry with a speed limit on motorways if it did not support his policies. The next day, all this was lamely denied. Whenever it has been possible to confuse the public, he has gone ahead and done it.

Zimmermann hopes to be become the protector of the forests with this sort of behaviour. Zimmermann, more Green than the Greens. But from the beginning he did not give the Greens a chance in public.

The hundred weeks of confused discussion on exhaust emissions have achieved nothing, with the possible exception of the questionable reputation gain Zimmermann has made.

So far there are half a million potential car buyers so bemused with contradictory announcements that they have postponed buying a new car and are continuing to drive their old vehicle. As a result the car industry orderbook has rapidly contracted.

Most manufacturers have been able to make up for the monthly forty per cent domestic drop as compared with the previous year by more export orders.

But stocks abroad now seem to be covered. There is no doubt that in one or two companies the situation is serious. For weeks there have been rumours that the automobile industry is planning to go on short-time — and it is not only Opel that is involved in the crisis.

This one-time show-piece sector of industry with a reputation for manufacturing the best cars in the world and in which every sixth worker in West Germany earns his daily bread, will have to suffer from the "Zimmermann black cloud" for some time.

Fritz Haberl, president of the West German automobile industry association, has made some cautious estimates about the forthcoming depression — a further drop in car sales of 300,000 up to July this year. This figure is about a seventh of the expected new car registrations for 1985. The reason? The exhaust gas discussion à la Zimmermann.

This is not good news for the forests.

If fewer new cars are sold then old vehicles with toxic exhaust fumes are remaining on the road. Since the first oil crisis in 1973 automobile technicians have developed economic car engines, that not only consume less petrol but in litre terms emit considerably fewer toxic exhaust gases. Surprisingly the forest and the industry stand together on the same side — if it were not for Zimmermann. He has been able to cutback the car business but at the same time do nothing for the protection of the forests.


A man with drive. Friedrich Zimmermann. (Photo: Sven Simon)

It began in the summer of 1983. Then he went it alone and boastfully said that cars with less toxic exhausts would be introduced by 1986 — to be sure without consulting his Common Market partners beforehand.

Zimmermann only learned later that laws concerning exhaust gas pollution were within the jurisdiction of European legislation and not to be promulgated by Bonn.

Because of this crass failure of judgment at the very beginning of the Zimmermann exhaust gas campaign no one involved, including car industry executives, took seriously any more the announcements, plans and statements of intent from the Interior Ministry that followed on.

Emphatic statements by Zimmermann such as "If necessary we go it alone" changed little, except to arouse his discussion partners in the European Community more against him.

In these circumstances it is not surprising that in the latest Brussels poker game Zimmermann lost more than he won.

No decision has been made, but what is certain is that the Interior Minister's exhaust gas plans, given Cabinet blessing last autumn, are not worth the paper they are written on.

From 1988 new cars with an engine size of more than two litres , and from 1989 all small new cars, will only be registered when they conform to strict American exhaust fume standards.

The industry and potential car buyers can forget previous Bonn pronouncements. The new Brussels compromise formula is as follows:

- New cars with more than two litres must have catalytic converters to process lead-free fuel from October 1989. Only completely new models must be fitted with converters from 1988.
- The industry can take three more years with new cars of between 1.4 and 2 litres. Only from October 1992 must the strict exhaust gas standards be complied with. Only newly-designed cars will be obliged to comply with these standards from October 1990.
- The most lenient regulations will apply to cars of less than 1.4 litres. Instead of being required to conform with American-level standards which would require 90 per cent detoxification, a level of 50 per cent will be required with an after-burn system in new cars from October 1991.

Completely new models will have to comply a year before. It is clear to us where the British, French and Italian interests lie from this compromise formula. All three countries want to burden their national automobile industries as little as possible, and they all have a difficult time competing with the West German industry. The two French car manufacturers, Peugeot and Renault, in particular, are deep into the red.

Since their automobile industries are mainly concerned with cars with limited cylinder capacity, unlike the West German industry, Zimmermann's European Community partners have let him have his way only as regards large cars — although even here the Minister had to accept a postponment of almost two years, from 1 January 1988 to 1 October 1989.

The exhaust gas battle will certainly not be fought in this upper class of vehicles. Only every seventh car sold in this country is in this class. Almost a half of the cars on the road belong to the medium class, and they can be driven for over seven years before something definite is done for environmental protection.

Zimmermann's success in Brussels can be judged from these results. It is easy to forecast that cars with 1.9 litres will become very popular.

Zimmermann hopes that his complicated tax incentive system will attract new car buyers to purchase vehicles fitted with catalytic converters, long before the obligatory dates. He ought not to bet on this.

Firstly Zimmermann must chop away the tax advantages because the French have imposed conditions. And secondly the old, higher Bonn advantage to car buyers is not attractive enough. People who make cold calculations such as Armin Feit, president of the tax payers association, have said this in public.

The whole business means more uncertainty for the car industry's customers. What is valid today, is changed tomorrow. And it will be a few months before anything is decided. Zimmermann's call to motorists that they should no longer let themselves by misguided by car companies is almost like mockery.

Sales problems are now linked with anger over the unnecessary expense many car firms have incurred in hastily developing cars fitted with catalytic converters. So far costs in millions of three digits have gone up in smoke.

Now everyone can drop down a gear for there is plenty of time. It looks as if the Interior Minister's political dalliance has come to an end. It has not achieved much.

Heinz Blüthmann

(Die Zeit, Hamburg, 15 March 1985)

Continued from page 5

fer of capital is a declared objective of the Treaty of Rome. ..

The Council of Ministers agreed on guidelines over 20 years ago, but several member-countries have to this day repeatedly resorted to protective provisions.

We would like to enter into negotiations with other members of the Community to clarify the terms on which and the deadlines by which exchange controls on capital transfer can be abolished.

Q: Would you like to see further development of the European Monetary System?

A: We are also in favour of strengthening the EMS, which has proved its worth within its terms of reference over the past six years. What matters is for all member-countries of the European Community to join it.

That mainly means Britain, but also Italy, which still relies on a bandwidth of six per cent (as against 2.5 per cent), and Belgium, which has a split foreign exchange market.

Q: Ought in your view a fresh role to be sought for the Ecu in the official EMS context?

A: We agree with the Bundesbank in favouring wider official use of the Ecu. The central banks have drawn up agreements in this matter. Belgium still has a reservation, but hopefully it may soon be waived.

Q: At present the emphasis is on private use of the Ecu? What are your views on that?

A: Private use of the Ecu is an issue that has been given too much prominence by a number of politicians in Brussels and Strasbourg.

In countries with weak currencies its use understandably tends to increase. The Bundesbank says there is no private demand for the Ecu worth mentioning in this country.

Q: Why, then, is the Bundesbank afraid of private use of the European Currency Unit?

A: Providing agreement is reached on an overall concept, on which work is currently in progress at the Finance Ministry, we will be in a position to discuss the subject again with the Bundesbank.

But we and the Bundesbank are opposed to entrusting to the European Commission or to other European institutions monetary powers of control at the expense of national banks of issue.

We are also opposed to remitting foreign exchange reserves to a Community fund that is subject to political control.

Serious discussion in the 1970s of the proposal by Luxembourg Prime Minister Pierre Werner for a European economic and monetary union made one point clear.

It is that a monetary union cannot work without an economic union, in other words without nation-states forgoing sovereignty in major sectors of economic, monetary and fiscal policy.

So to this extent it remains a distant prospect. We would be well advised to concentrate on what is feasible now: intensifying monetary cooperation.

Rudolf Herlt

(Die Zeit, Hamburg, 15 March 1985)

■ EDUCATION

Universities become waiting room for graduates until a career turns up



Many students who fail to find a job after graduation stay on at university for want of something better, a Hanover survey has shown.

They either do research with a view to improving their job prospects or stay on as pro forma students, say Karl-Heinz Minks and Reiner Reissert of the Hochschul-Informations-System (HIS). Hanover.

In effect they use university as a waiting-room, caught midway between education and a career as they are.

The two men interviewed senior students in 1978 on behalf of the Bonn Education Ministry and carried out follow-up interviews in 1983.

"The difficulties encountered in finding a job after graduating have increased in many disciplines in recent years," they write. One graduate in three took between six months and over a year to find employment.

So many students are in a kind of "grey zone" or intermediate status between further education and the labour market.

In 1983 about 67 per cent, or two out of three, said they were fully employed. Yet 11 per cent were still enrolled as full-time students.

Fourteen per cent of the six per cent who classified themselves as unemployed were still students in name. So were 57 per cent of those who described themselves as doing occasional work.

Many graduates find it hard to part company with university and are reluctant to burn their academic bridges behind them, Minks and Reissert write.

Despite having taken and passed final exams in a subject, students stayed on for longer than expected and created a "backlog."

Many of them chose to do so because student status counts for more in the family and among friends than being unemployed or a social security claimant.

So the universities, by providing nominal employment in this way, are easing the burden on the labour market.

Women graduates are said to find job-finding particularly difficult. They more often settle for unskilled work or spend longer on the dole, partly because they study subjects where the job outlook is specially bleak.

Subjects in this category are the education diploma that would qualify them to work in teaching if education authorities were hiring teachers (which they aren't, or certainly not in the numbers who qualify).

Much the same applies to social work studies and arts and sociology courses.

Many graduates are bitterly disappointed as they realise the true position in this post-university, pre-employment limbo, Minks and Reissert report. "In many cases the expectations of their surroundings, especially their parents, weigh heavily on individual graduates, especially if they went to university and their parents didn't."

The idea of having taken a university degree and accomplished something valuable in the process yet being forced to realise in the job stakes they aren't wanted is a heavy burden to bear, even though only a minority of graduates have yet had to face it.

The idea of going in for something "alternative" is widespread but currently only seen by half as a serious option "if the worst comes to the worst."

The survey confirms straw polls indicating that university graduates are as a rule only too willing to adjust or conform in view of the position in the labour market.

Most have abandoned hope of graduating and promptly qualifying as a secondary school teacher earning a fine salary and enjoying civil servant status and job security.

Yet 44 per cent were found to have succeeded in finding employment in their chosen field (or said they had) without making compromises, the report says.

About two graduates in three questioned said they were, on balance, satisfied with their position. But the percentage varies widely by profession.

Three out of four trainee teachers are "thoroughly dissatisfied" with their job situation and outlook.

That is hardly surprising inasmuch as their job prospects are abysmal. Yet teachers would usually study at university again if they had the chance (but not the same subject).

About 81 per cent would do so because they feel that university studies are valuable as such. University is still worthwhile even though the job prospects may be poor.

Graduates questioned feel university presents an educational opportunity that shouldn't be missed. Engineers are very much on their own in disagreeing with this opinion.

Jutta Roitsch

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 7 March 1985)

Fair shows dawn of computer age in the classroom

Didacta, the Stuttgart education trade fair, conveyed a striking visual impression of the computer age with its array of computer hardware and software alongside conventional educational aids.

So it is hardly surprising that the opportunities presented and threats posed by the new technologies in teaching were a keynote of discussion at what the organisers claim is probably the largest trade fair of its kind in the world.

The experts were largely agreed that computers are gradually changing and adding to teaching and lessons, yet that classical general education and the conventional school textbook will continue to flourish and be indispensable.

Educational policy disputes, such as curricular details, used to split recognisably along party-political lines. But everyone seems to be agreed on the need for computers in the classroom.

Only the Greens are fundamentally opposed to the "mass deployment of computers at general schools." But apart from them the only point at issue is how informatics can best be taught.

Before long seven out of 10 people at work will deal daily with computers in one form or another, so computers are generally felt to be a must at school.

Baden-Württemberg would prefer to see informatics spread round various school subjects; other *Länder*, such as North Rhine-Westphalia, prefer the idea of block lessons in the subject.

Basic training in informatics from, say, ninth grade is envisaged as being taught as a single subject rather than as part of several.

In either case young people are to be told about the dangers inherent in computers and all they stand for.

The computer era will not take over at school as rapidly or as radically as electronics firms would like. Neither sufficient staff nor suitable teaching aids are yet available.

Warnings were voiced at the Stuttgart fair that some manufacturers were out to earn a fast deutschemark and cared little whether the equipment they sold could be put to meaningful use in class.

Educational publishers are trying at least partly to offset the risk of a further decline in turnover the new technologies constitute by developing computerised teaching and learning programmes.

Bestselling textbooks and the latest computer peripherals are combined to form a new educational concept.

A number of publishers have also decided to jump on to the bandwaggon by producing informatics textbooks.

There was such a rush to collect publishers' brochures and leaflets at Stuttgart that panic hardly seems justified.

Exhibitors arranged mountains of books in what in some cases can only be described as a futuristic manner to compete with the computers and catch the eye.

Many can be said to have done so successfully, due in part to most visitors being schoolteachers and as such interested in the written word.

This year's Didacta was the first to pay special attention to adult and further education, with ample material being laid on.

The further education section included exhibitors such as the organisation representing local authority evening classes, the chambers of commerce and industry and trade associations.

Learning is the Future was the motto of another section specialising in career and in-house job training.

This is a sector that seems sure to prove increasingly important as job requirements change at a steadily faster rate.

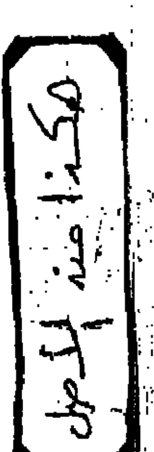
Stands indicated that electronics had made greater headway in this sector than at ordinary schools, almost inevitably so inasmuch as computers have come into their own in trade, industry and administration.

Yet career requirements are not the only motivation. Growing interest is being shown in learning more on general subjects and leisure-orientated activities.

So there is still much to be said in favour of the old adage that we learn in life and not at school.

Peter Reinhardt

(Mannheimer Morgen, 2 March 1985)



■ SOCIETY

Councils issue guidelines to help women get jobs on their merit

STUTTGARTER ZEITUNG

Discrimination for or against people because of their sex is unconstitutional in West Germany.

However, this doesn't seem to have made a great deal of difference: 37 per cent of all workers are women, but only three per cent are executives.

That is why women having been kicking up an ever-greater fuss. Women from the trade unions, the political parties, women in science and women in industry, they all demand change.

Some *Länder* and cities have actually drawn up guidelines laying down how equal opportunities for women should be promoted. Hamburg and Bremen have both approved sets of guidelines.

The pioneer in this is the town of Rüsselsheim (pop: 60,000) on the Main. In 1982 there was an almighty row at the council over a vacancy.

There were two applicants for a job in the housing department, one a man, the other a woman.

The woman was qualified and the personnel officer wanted to hire her.

The housing department head said: We want the man.

Eventually, the case had to be settled in a court of law —the woman got the job.

As a result of this, the staff of the personnel office closely examined the composition of the council.

As expected, the proportion of women dropped sharply in the higher echelons.

There were no women at all in the senior positions. But more than half of the more basic jobs were filled by women.

The promotion programme for women that was then drawn up by the town, made it clear that women should be given precedence in being appointed to top positions when they had equal qualifications to male colleagues.

Furthermore more girls should be taken on in "male" jobs such as painters, furnishers and car mechanics.

The town offered women who had been out of employment for years and returned to work courses lasting from four to eight weeks at primary schools, that would prepare them for work and make it easier for them to get back into employment.

The Senates in Hamburg and in Bremen have approved similar guidelines along lines proposed by the equal opportunities for women movement.

The measures are the same as in Rüsselsheim except for one point: the theme of equal opportunities at work should in future be discussed in all further education programmes in the public service.

The women on the staff of the movement maintained at a conference that "the clicheeridden views of women and men at work, that had nothing to do with reality, can only be changed by a change in thinking."

The Hamburg women took the view that no rules and regulations could have so much effect as a change in awareness through further education.

Is it true that social disadvantages are responsible for the fact that so few woman take up careers.? Or is the failing possibly in women themselves because they are inadquately qualified or are more concerned with establishing a family than pursing a working career?

The truth is that many factors play a role. Sometimes it is a lack of qualifications, not infrequently a lack of enthusiasm for a working career for life, often limited self-confidence and almost always the woman's situation in life.

Nevertheless when none of this is applicable, when a woman is able to do a job, when a woman could succeed and her private and social situation are no different from her colleagues, most men would be preferred to fill a vacant post.

The Rüsselsheim example is no exception. In the public service, as well as in small, medium and large companies women, in the self-critical words of the Aral oil company personnel manager in Bochum, Horst Föhr, are not well represented among the higher echelons of management.

To compensate, Aral started its own promotional programmes in 1981. Women with equal qualifications were to be preferred to fill jobs. The programmes included further education for women returning to work, part-time jobs for qualified women, employment of more female academics and the opening up to women of jobs abroad — in Aral an area that has been completely closed to women until now.

In fact women are breaking into male domains and managing to make their way up the executive ladder.

But stop the women's promotion programme and the gains disappear, the idea gets put back in the file and forgotten.

The reason for thinking this was a development in the oil market. Within the space of three years Aral AG, the oil company, discharged about a half of its labourforce. People at all levels in the company were affected.

The few women who, thanks to the promotion programme, had been able to climb up the career ladder, resigned from the company after they had been paid high redundancy sums.

It is too early to say if women's promotion programmes really have the effect of introducing equal opportunities for women at work.

But this much can be said today: so long as unemployment increases and workers are being shed in the public service and the private sector instead of being taken on, there is very little hope of women "getting their half of the cake".

Monica Weber-Nau

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 2 March 1985)

15,000 marks awarded in saleslady case

Damages of 15,000 marks have been awarded in a Hamburg court to a woman who alleged that she had been discriminated against.

The case is a significant one, because it had already been referred to the European Court, which ruled that West German legislation on the point needed to be changed.

The complainant, Doris Harz, a trained saleswoman, claimed that Deutsche Tradex GmbH had discriminated against her under equal opportunities legislation because it would not employ her in a managerial position.

The firm had claimed that putting a woman in a position mainly filled by men was unsuitable.

The original German hearing went against Frau Harz. The case was then was referred to Europe.

Now the Hamburg court, making its award, referred to the European court decision which had ruled that although under German law compensation was limited to costs such as post and paper, which in this case amounted to two marks and 51 pfennigs, the law was out of date.

So Frau Harz is to receive DM2.51 in addition to the DM15,000.

dpa

(Kieler Nachrichten, 8 March 1985)

The golden days when brewing was a feminine business

Five thousand years ago, Sumarian women had extensive rights: they worked as merchants and as self-employed business people.

They had their own seals and held supervisory positions in government.

By a decree issued by Conradi of Freiburg in 1120 women were allowed to inherit. In the absence of the husband wives could run the business.

From 1400, they were admitted to the counting-houses and warehouses where costly goods were stored.

The women of the merchant family Runtiger represented their husbands on the exchange and before the courts.

If the husband was a good-for-nothing the wife had the right to take care of the family.

In 1418 a women appeared before the court in a property dispute with her husband.

In the Middle Ages the arts and crafts were not employment for men. Thus in the fourteenth century, in Frankfurt-am-Main, breweries were mainly run by women. Embroidering in silk was reserved to women alone.

The good old days. Business woman at work.
(From Edith Ennen's Frauen im Mittelalter, C. H. Beck Verlag, Munich)

Men produced articles but women ran the business of processing the articles further quite independently.

The hierarchy in exclusively women's guilds was similar to that of the men's guilds, only in matters of morals were the women less narrow-minded.

In documents in Cologne it is stated categorically that legitimate and illegitimate girls can pass through apprenticeships. Single and married people worked, but married couples made a well coordinated team.

Education for women was extensive among the knightly classes. By the time of the Carolingian kings women of fashion read devotional books. The male virtue was to concentrate on the martial arts, so that by the early Middle Ages women were better educated than the men and often became the sole teachers of their sons and daughters.

Rich and noble women often went into a convent and lived there looking after the poor, the lepers and the sick. To most of their family this seemed outrageous, because they saw in their daughters with an important dowry a means of extending the family influence and wealth.

When there was social change in the seventeenth century from the age of chivalry to the mercantile age, there was an increase in work for the male. Most women remained concerned with the family and declined to take part in the men's work. The period of "learning to be a housewife" and "protector of the home" had begun.

By the end of the sixteenth century the women's guilds were closed. So poor widows had to go out to work for daily wages.

Only noble women could continue

Continued on page 12

■ RESEARCH

Resentment over decision to scrap infra-red space-lab project

Frankfurter Allgemeine

The decision by the Bonn Research and Technology Ministry to scrap the German Infra-Red Laboratory, Girl for short, after years of planning and preparation has created confusion.

Work has been in progress since 1976 on what was hailed as a unique and particularly promising project.

Girl would have earned German astronomers international kudos and a commanding position in a research furrow that has only recently been ploughed to any great extent.

About DM50m has been invested in the project, which was to have been a reusable space laboratory to be launched by space shuttle in 1988 or 1989 and used for research into infra-red astronomy.

The decision to abandon the project was by no means unanimously reached at the Ministry. Research scientists associated with Girl feel as much of their work as possible ought to be salvaged.

Infra-red astronomy is still a relative newcomer as a research subject. From the Earth infra-red radiation from outer space cannot be satisfactorily monitored as most is absorbed by the atmosphere. So cosmic sources of infra-red radiation are occasionally probed from on board high-altitude aircraft.

The first satellite put to work on infra-red astronomy, Iras, a US, British and Dutch project, worked well from January to November 1983.

Its equipment was only suitable for a rough and ready check of the sky, but evaluation of the information relayed back to Earth supplied some of the best findings space astronomy has yet brought to light.

Girl was planned to provide information in greater detail. It was also to be the forerunner of a European infra-red satellite, Iso, short for Infra-Red Space Observatory.

The European satellite is still scheduled to go into orbit in 1992.

The Girl project was devised in response to a Research Ministry request for scientists to devise experiments to be carried out on board the European Spacelab, which was 50-per-cent financed by Germany.

After investing roughly DM1bn in the Spacelab project, Bonn and its European partners donated the capsule to the Americans in return for Spacelab being launched free of charge on its maiden mission.

Now Bonn has decided to join forces with the United States on the proposed US space platform funds seem no longer to be available with which to put Spacelab to any meaningful use.

Officially the scrapping of Girl has nothing to do with the space platform.

Officially the decision must be seen in connection with other expensive German basic research projects the Ministry must bankroll.

But all these projects were well-known at the time the Bonn government resolved, on political grounds, to take part in preliminary work on the space platform.

In the final analysis the space platform weighs so heavily on Research Minister Heinz Riesenhuber's budget that drastic cuts in other Ministry-backed research spheres are inevitable.

A point put forward in connection with the decision to abandon the Girl project is that the dollar exchange rate has added dramatically to what would have had to have been paid to Nasa for putting the satellite into orbit.

Besides, the price currently charged for payload on board the US space shuttle is said to be artificially low and likely to be increased substantially in dollars too.

That would arguably make the mission totally out of the question financially. The cost would not be warranted in any way for a space mission that was only scheduled to take between a week and a fortnight.

Initially the space shuttle was expected to stay in orbit for 20 or even 30 days, but there is no longer any mention of that, and Nasa's bill for putting Girl into space once, $63m, has increased in German currency from DM170m in 1982 to over DM210m at the present exchange rate.

The satellite would also have cost over DM150m to develop and run, always assuming it was spaceborne by 1989.

If these arguments held water the Bonn government ought no longer to make any use of Spacelab, which it bankrolled so generously. If Girl is scrapped, other Spacelab missions still included in the Ministry's budget ought also to be shelved.

The two missions still planned, D-1 and D-2, are designed to test materials in space conditions. D-1 was to be launched later this year, D-2 in 1989. Given the current trend there can be no telling what Bonn's plans for them are.

How, for that matter, is Germany going to be able to afford to use the US space platform if the cost of payload space on board the space shuttle is already skyrocketing?

Yet another point to be borne in mind is that Girl was to be sent up on board the space shuttle with an expensive instrument platform beamed at the sky and dubbed IPS, short for Instrument Pointing System.

This system was commissioned by Esa, the European Space Agency, built in Germany and later donated to the United States along with the Spacelab capsules.

As the platform was planned by Esa solely for use in connection with the Girl project, an investment totalling between DM100m and DM200m and largely financed by Bonn would have been superfluous.

The decision to abandon Girl was not taken as suddenly as the wider public might imagine. Project scientists were summoned on 6 February to a hearing at the Ministry department in charge of aerospace, commodities, geosciences and transport research.

After lengthy deliberation Girl was finally scrapped at the end of the month and the scientists and firms involved notified.

The DM50m already spent on the project is not an investment that has been totally forfeited. Part of the know-how picked up during preliminaries can be put to other use.

Detectors without equal anywhere else in the world have for instance been developed in the Federal Republic in connection with the technologically ambitious infra-red space laboratory.

German firms and research facilities are also now among the foremost in Europe in cryogenic engineering.

But valuable years will be wasted for German infra-red astronomy, which had established a commanding lead in connection with the project.

Besides, by no means all work carried out in preparation for the Iso project can now be put to other use. That particularly applies to work on how to fit Girl on board the space shuttle.

The infra-red laboratory was, for example, to serve as a model of how the space shuttle could be put to useful research work and to provide experience to be drawn on for later experiments on board the US spacecraft.

So the decision to scrap Girl, taken on political grounds, cannot be reconciled with the space research concept to which the Bonn government lays claim.

Günter Paul

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 2 March 1985)



Golden days

Continued from page 11

to handle their husband's affairs after he had died, as they had already done when the husband was absent.

In the following period women lost more and more of their original rights, so that they no longer had any influence on public affairs.

Nevertheless in difficult situations women showed they could still work and fight hard.

For example in Mainz in the winter of 1816/1817 when there was a major famine and "women made a nuisance of themselves on the market place. They wanted to force prices down."

As they did not achieve this by talking they scattered sacks of potatoes, overturned baskets of vegetables, mixed the eggs and the butter and trod everything underfoot.

Only when the police and the military came along could "law and order be restored". Not until 1840 was the first woman allowed to study at university in Zürich, in France 1863 and 1878 in Holland. Such progress was only possible in Germany, in Bavaria, Baden and Württemberg, in 1905.

In no other country of Europe was this question so hotly debated as in Germany.

To have women in lecture-halls meant a breakdown of morality for those who defended the old order of things.

Eventually, after the Second World War, it was the women who carried the main burden of the family.

They moved the rubble, battled with officialdom and imaginatively organised food supplies.

An observer wrote in 1946 after a survey of 200 Berlin households: "The mother thrills the entire family with her will to live."

Ingeborg Wingert

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 9 March 1985)

■ MEDICINE

Pfennigs go further than pennies, Arabs discover

RHEINISCHER MERKUR

Four Arab bodyguards armed with sub-machine guns looked on last year as their sheikh underwent complicated jaw surgery in an Aachen hospital.

The surgeon was surprised to see how seriously the bodyguards took their job and went ahead with the operation regardless.

For over a year rich Arab families have discovered the Federal Republic of Germany as a special tourist attraction. They come for medical treatment.

Lufthansa, the national airline, arranges package medical deals with hospitals in Aachen, Baden-Baden, Heidelberg and Wiesbaden.

Travel arrangements and medical services are marketed with great success in Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and the Gulf emirates.

Until recently the sheikhs headed for London, Los Angeles and San Francisco for medical treatment for themselves and their extended families.

Baden-Württemberg, the Rhineland and, in particular, Hesse are now favourite ports of call.

British and American clinics in some cases charged fees that made even petrodollar millionaires feel ill. "Bills soon grew astronomic," says a Bahraini factory owner's chief accounts clerk.

British and US hospital accounts departments failed to appreciate that the Arabs are particularly sensitive about being treated fairly in all respects. They weren't always given a fair deal.

So Harley Street, the London Mecca of medical tourism, has only itself to blame for the decline in the number of up-market bednights. There are limits to what private patients are prepared to pay, especially if they can afford to pick and choose.

Airlines, hotels and university hospitals are on to a major new market. Rich Arabs fly in by private jet and are driven to hospital by Mercedes, usually accompanied by a staff of 10 to 15.

When a sheikh or his relatives fail to find a satisfactory physician at home they fly over to Germany for treatment. "Money is then no object," says Lufthansa marketing manager Gernot Hu-[illegible], "prompt attention is what matters most."

One oil sheikh, accompanied by 20 members of his family, spent 10 days in Aachen. They spent roughly DM1.8m on medical treatment, hotel bills and incidentals.

"It was fine," he said on leaving. "I'm healthy and feel fit again. The hotel was OK. I'll come again some time soon."

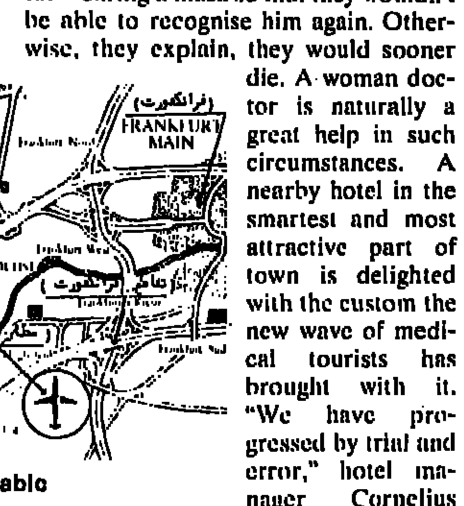
Women in long, loose-fitting white clothes and wearing black face-masks or yashmaks are regularly seen around Wiesbaden, the Hesse capital and a spa city, these days.

The German Diagnostic Clinic in Wiesbaden seems to wield a magic spell on Arab families with its special medical checks, basic checks and treatment of particularly complicated complaints.

Professor Gerhard Rau, head of the clinic, outlines difficulties encountered, particularly in dealing with women from high-ranking Arab families.

"Arab women are reluctant to strip totally naked for a German or European doctor. So we have designed a special gown for use in body checks. It has various openings that enable the doctor to do his job properly without offending the patient's sense of propriety."

Some patients also insist on the doctor wearing a mask so that they wouldn't be able to recognise him again. Otherwise, they explain, they would sooner die. A woman doctor is naturally a great help in such circumstances. A nearby hotel in the smartest and most attractive part of town is delighted with the custom the new wave of medical tourists has brought with it. "We have progressed by trial and error," hotel manager Cornelius Prins says. "Our chefs used to call it a day at 10 p.m. Nowadays the kitchen has to be manned until midnight or 1 a.m. and our guests have dined in keeping with their custom.



How to get there, in Arabic

"We also had to invest heavily in new tablecloths to be laid on the floor. Arab families prefer to sit on the ground, eat with their hands and converse for hours cross-legged.

"We have also had to prepare the food and arrange the menu so that everything could be eaten by hand."

The menu must naturally be in Arabic. Well-trained waiters and waitresses must be a little more obsequious than is usual in Europe.



Wields a magic spell. German diagnostic clinic in Wiesbaden

(Photos: Deutsche Klinik für Diagnostik, Wiesbaden)

Hotel managers who arrange an evening of Arab entertainment, preferably including belly-dancing, can be sure of up-market regular visitors.

The management would also be well-advised to learn a few verses of the Koran. Treating Arab customers well is financially rewarding on a long-term basis.

Many rich Arabs bring not only their bodyguards, chauffeurs and family with them but also their chefs.

"You simply have to let them get on with it in the hotel kitchen — whether your own chef likes it or not," Herr Prins says. "Many Middle Easterners particularly appreciate hotel tariffs that specify the option of being able to prepare your own food."

Arab chefs who wanted to slaughter a lamb in accordance with Islamic custom have been allowed to do so at Herr Prins's hotel, the Aukamm.

The German chef who kept an eye on the proceedings fainted and had to be taken next door to the clinic for treatment.

A Lufthansa sales team has toured nearly all Arab countries accompanied by a high-powered medical delegation.

The publicity campaign will cost several hundred thousand marks this year, with the emphasis on German hotels, casinos, the climate, the mountains in Bavaria and the Black Forest, the water of Lake Constance, the lush green meadows of the Rhine valley, the white snow and, perhaps, the blonde fräuleins.

Arabs don't always come with their wives, so mention is also made of the variety of German life by day and night. After treatment, they will usually convalesce or stay on for a holiday, often a lengthy one, in Germany.

Fifty thousand well-to-do Arab personalities who are either ill or would like to have a thorough medical check are to be airbussed in from Bahrain and Muscat by Lufthansa this year. Travelling first class, of course.

Leading German specialists are sent on lecture tours of the Arab world to hold confidence-building talks on complaints ranging from minor illnesses to the Big C — cancer.

Lectures are held in the palaces and villas of the Arab sheikhs and gentry. Coughs and colds and heart attacks are discussed at length.

From this May Wiesbaden, Baden-Baden, Heidelberg and Aachen will be joined as "health resorts" by Berlin, Hamburg, Hanover, Mainz, Düsseldorf, Bonn, Munich and Rottach-Egern.

If every sick or convalescent Arab guest comes with the usual party of 10, university clinics and hotels stand to earn a packet.

Hamburg University Hospital is being marketed mainly as specialising in the treatment of tropical diseases, whereas Berlin is planned as a medical location for treatment of physical and mental upsets.

Doctors in Hanover are said to specialise in kidney complaints, whereas urological checks are best undertaken in Mainz.

Mainz University Hospital has a Dornier device that shatters kidney stones. It is an installation that is as well-known in parts of the Arab world as Cologne cathedral.

Düsseldorf hospitals are pigeonholed as specialising in serious skin complaints, while Bonn is for eye diseases and Rottach-Egern for slimming.

So medical care in Germany is the message that is now being marketed in the Arab world. Lufthansa package deals will be marketed next year in South America and the Afro-Asian world.

Marketing strategists have visions of selling West Germany worldwide as an up-to-the-minute medical centre for the rich.

Dieter Riwola

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, Bonn, 9 March 1985)



The Mainz kidney stone shatterer. Better known than Cologne cathedral.

(Photo: sl-strom-linie)

■ FRONTIERS

The revealing truth behind the Matthew Supper

DIE WELT

St Matthew's Day and the time-honoured *Matthiae-Mahl* (Matthew Supper) in Hamburg have come and gone. The Supper is the most celebrated in West Germany.

The candles in the 100-year-old banqueting hall in the Hamburg Town Hall have been dowsed, in the gallery the last notes of the *Tafelmusik*, that Georg Philipp Telemann composed in 1711 for the occasion, have died away.

The banqueting hall servants have carefully packed away the expensive silver cutlery, goblets, and tableware in the safe. The silver cutlery alone is a good reason to take part in the Matthew Supper that takes place in February every year.

The Supper dates back to 1356, when the "convocation of the honoured council", the "representatives of Hamburg's friendly authorities" were invited for the first time to a splendid supper on St Matthew's Day, the patron saint of butchers, merchants and carpenters and joiners.

The mayor had to report to them what was important. At the beginning of the year he had placed official business in the hands of senators, who were then not professional politicians, but who belonged to the honoured commercial class and who took up honorary posts in the city-state government.

Even today official business is divided afresh at the Supper among the senators as a formality. In the strictest sense the Matthew Supper could be dispensed with and the consular corps informed of Senate decisions by circular letter and so save DM70,000, which is what the banquet costs.

But to do away with the Matthew Supper, which is what the Greens have demanded, would be an affront to the 75 consuls general, consuls and honorary consuls in the city. Hamburg is proud of the number of consular representatives who are accredited to the Senate.

For them the festive evening is an important official function, for of the 360 guests the consular representatives and their wives make up the largest group in the company.

Other guests include representatives from political, economic and cultural life as well as guests of honour.

This year the guest of honour was the French Arts Minister Jacques Lang, last year it was the Mayor of New York, Edward Koch.

Within the first twelve days of a new year Hamburg's mayor and his deputy invite consular chiefs to a New Year's reception in the Town Hall. They stand round the walls of the *Kaisersaal* (Imperial hall) in order of seniority.

The mayor presents the good wishes of the Senate and the doyen of the consular corps answers on behalf of his colleagues. The reception ends with the participants having a friendly chat with one another.

There are very few women in Hamburg's consular corps, this year only the Belgian consul general, Adeline Simoens, and the vice-consul of the Dominican Republic, Ana Herminia de Camps.

In the middle of the year the Senate invites all consulate members to a large consular reception, which is made colourful by the national dress worn by the representatives from Africa and Asia.

But the social high points of consular life in Hamburg should not obscure the fact that consuls are chiefly responsible for looking after the best interests of their country in Hamburg, the largest industrial city in the Federal Republic, after Berlin as well as in the whole northern region of the country.

This is so since most representatives are responsible not only for Hamburg but also for Schleswig-Holstein, Lower Saxony and Bremen.

Well-meaning people say repeatedly that Hamburg has more consular representations than any other city in the world. This is not quite true. Hamburg is second, after New York.

There are 80 consulates between the East River and the Hudson, when exile representations are included such as the Estonians and Lithuanians.

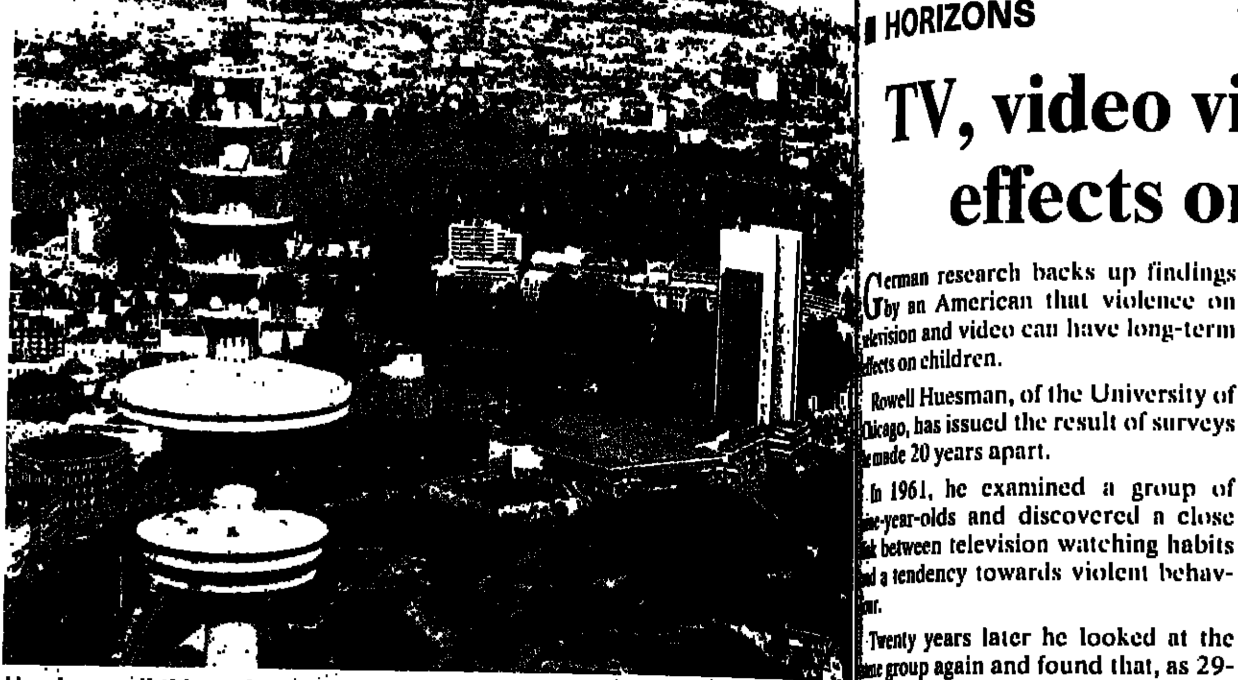
Nevertheless the figure in Hamburg is imposing with 49 consul generals, 11 honorary consul-generals, one consul and 14 honorary consuls.

As a trade and shipping centre Hamburg has for centuries established links overseas. So the Matthew Supper that was established 300 years ago has now become "institutionalised".

At the end of the Thirty Years War Sweden opened its first diplomatic mission in the "imperial free city". At the end of this horrific war worldwide contacts were of considerable importance to the "Hanseatic Republics", as Hamburg, Bremen and Lübeck were then called. By the middle of 1867 the high point of representation abroad was reached — 279 missions. There were 75 alone in America and 34 in Asia.

Almost twenty years before, in 1848, there were missions from 32 governments within the walls of Hamburg, including 24 from German courts. America opened a mission in Hamburg sixteen years after Independence in 1790. It was the fourth consulate the United States established abroad.

Currently there are 547 consulates accredited in 42 cities in the Federal Republic including West Berlin. As already mentioned Hamburg has 75, followed by Munich with 73. The other positions in the list are taken up by West Berlin with 62, Frankfurt am Main with 56 and Düsseldorf with 54. Of course, these figures do not remain constant for all time. The Nigerian consul general in Hamburg was brought back to Lagos because of cost, but there is good reason to believe that the Nigerians will return. This is what happened with the Malaysian consulate general that was closed temporarily and then recently reopened.



Hamburg: all this and supper as well! (Photo: Hamburg-Information)

It is vital to be constantly in touch with trading partners and institutions within Hamburg so representation in the city cannot be easily dispensed with.

There are a few political curiosities to be found in Hamburg's consular history. The Bolivian consul general Juan Emilio Sanchez attracted worldwide attention, for instance.

When a military junta took over power in La Paz on 17 July 1980 Sanchez was replaced, but he refused to accept this. He remained and signed himself as "Consul in Opposition".

When there was a political change in Bolivia his persistence was rewarded. He was reinstated by the new government in La Paz and on 7 February 1983 he was able to present his credentials to Mayor Klaus von Dohnanyi for the second time, empowering him to act as the Bolivian consul general in the city.

The credentials are not just a matter of protocol. With them a consul is empowered from the West German side to exercise his official responsibilities. He can, for instance, conclude marriages and other ceremonies.

The consul and his staff enjoy protection under the Vienna Convention that gives diplomats and consuls immunity and their accommodation is under extraterritorial protection. West German police can only enter the premises on request.

In view of this international situation it is understandable that credentials are closely scrutinised by the Foreign Office in Bonn.

Foreign Office officials and city authorities complain in Bonn fairly frequently about the misbehaviour of diplomats. Matters such as unpaid accounts, lack of consideration in road traffic and illegal parking are amongst the most common misdemeanours.

Hans-Heinrich Dörner, head of protocol in Hamburg and responsible for foreign missions said: "This is not the case in Hamburg." Nevertheless the request for reserved parking places is a frequent topic of discussion in the Senate chancellery with consular representatives.

Most of the consulates are in the city centre, many in narrow residential streets, where parking is very limited.

At the end of the 1960s it was promised to make available two parking places for consular vehicles in front of the consular building in order to satisfy the pressing need for parking.

Angered Hamburg citizens would not come to terms with this privelege and a test case was brought before the courts. The special regulation was found to be out of order and had to be withdrawn.

All new consul members turn to the Senate chancellery with their questions and problems. The chancellery makes introductions to trade and industry and assistance is given as regards living accommodation. Or the chancellery is asked to recommend a good maternity clinic, when babes are on the way.

Hamburg is well aware of the advantages it has with its 75 consular missions. This helps a lot when it is a question of establishing branches of West German firms.

Interesting export and import possibilities are opened up via the trade department of a consulate or a trade mission such as is the case with Israel which does not have a consular mission in Hamburg.

Foreign missions are particularly attracted to Harvestehude on the Alster, the lake in the middle of the city.

In this part of the city there are the consulates general of the United States, France, Britain, Yugoslavia, Egypt and South Africa.

This list has been recently extended by the establishment of a consulate general for the People's Republic of China.

The Senate energetically assisted the Chinese to find a suitable piece of land.

The Chinese consulate general will be just a three-minute car drive away from the magnificent "White House of Hamburg", the American consulate general, one of the finest buildings in the attractive road that skirts the Alster.

Consul General Wang Yanyi will be able to go for walks in a garden that is very like a public park. Ten years ago, to

Continued on page 15



White house, blue lake ... the American consulate in Hamburg. (Photo: dpa)

■ HORIZONS

TV, video violence can have long-term effects on behaviour, say reports

German research backs up findings by an American that violence on television and video can have long-term effects on children.

Rowell Huesman, of the University of Chicago, has issued the result of surveys made 20 years apart.

In 1961, he examined a group of nine-year-olds and discovered a close link between television watching habits and a tendency towards violent behaviour.

Twenty years later he looked at the same group again and found that, as 29-year-olds, that tendency towards violence was still there.

STUTTGARTER ZEITUNG

Rhineland-Palatinate researcher Jo Groebel has found that once violence was bred into a person, it stayed.

Researchers say violence and aggression in the media have increased over the years. People were becoming used to it.

Groebel: "Efforts are being made to create ever greater sensation by going to extremes of aggression."

Rolf Stefen is in charge of the federal authority which vets books, magazines and video tapes which might be harmful to young people.

He speaks of "a disastrous compulsion to follow false norms and behaviourial patterns." This meant children did not grow up emotionally.

"Passive consumption of violence is becoming a substitute for the risk-taking, the adventure, the involvement and the initiative which is denied them in a controlled and protected world".

In a so-far unpublished study, Groebel produces plenty of evidence for this theory about the link between violence and the media.

For example, he found that in England, teenagers admitted becoming involved in "extreme violence" after watching violence on television.

He also found children only three or four years old who watched a lot of television and who already showed a preference for aggressive forms of play.

Children were more aggressive on Mondays than on other days. Groebel: "All other activity halts at the weekend because of excessive television viewing."

Long-term American studies show that long exposure to danger situations on television cause feelings of anxiety and mistrust.

Groebel found that in Germany, nervous children tended to watch a lot of television. High viewing increased the feelings of anxiety.

He noted some typical symptoms among German children who watched television too much — they were socially insecure, had feelings of anxiety and held themselves in low esteem.

The advance of video and the increasing choice of television programmes made it likely that the trend would increase and bring rising dangers of social isolation.

In Finland, delegates at a recent conference had shown that violent pornography changed behaviour patterns among children and youths.

The evidence was that children in West Germany between 6 and 10 often watch pornography and rape scenes on video.

Groebel: "Children can possibly learn that rape is a normal sexual activity."

Two Canadian scientists, James V.P. Check and Neil M. Malamuth, of the University of Manitoba, have found that most men who appear before the courts on rape charges had been exposed to pornography at an early age.

Other researchers have found that men become more aggressive after watching pornography instead of more normal films.

In one test, two films containing rape scenes were showed to a survey group of men.

The men reported significantly increased feelings of aggression towards women. (The films were not unusual — both had been shown on American TV channels).

The investigators concluded that the mass media do have a strong influence over aggressive sexual feelings.

But there were also more subtle forms of aggression which influenced watchers: ridiculing people, deceiving them, betraying trusts, intrigue.

American studies have found that thing sort of thing is a major component of the ever-running *Dallas*.

Groebel: "The use of any means at all to achieve social and professional aims are legitimised. There is a crudeness of behaviour in politics, in public life and within the family."

Well, what can be done? Groebel says children should be taught at school how to handle conflicts and problems.

There were several ways of handling aggressive situations.

Programme producers are at fault for programme quality, researchers agree. Positive programmes which portray a more friendly and attractive society should be offered, says Groebel.

He says that the positive results of socially more pleasant programmes such as *The Waltons* had for long been known.

Even for little children, there were programmes like *Lassie* or *Sesame Street* which portrayed people helping either people or animals.

Dietmar Wittmann

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 28 February 1985)

Continued from page 14

[illegible] the conditions of the Moscow Agreement concluded by Willy Brandt and Hans-Dietrich Genscher, a Russian consulate general was opened in Hamburg.

The Russians wanted to have the consulate near to their American colleagues.

The official responsible at the time said that despite every effort made it was not possible to find for the Russians an acceptable building in the vicinity of the US building.

Eventually the Russian consulate general was established in a building on the opposite side of the Alster, close to the Thai and Turkish missions.

The Turkish and Russian missions give the Hamburg police a number of problems. People continuously gather in front of them to demonstrate about human rights or the suppression of ethnic minorities.

The Americans have also recently had to increase their security measures. Since the bloody attacks on American missions in the Middle East, Washington has tightened up security.

The consulate is now surrounded by a massive security fence that makes it difficult to get a proper view of the beautiful building.

Hamburg is regarded by consular officials as an intesting a varied posting. Contacts with trade and industry, culture and politics make service in Hamburg attractive. So it is not surprising that many consuls remain here more than the average three years.

At the end of the month the American consul general Grant E. Mouser III will return to Washington after four years in Hamburg. He has done much for a better understanding between the two countries.

He cannot complain about a lack of openmindedness among North Germans, although he has experienced pig-headed anti-Americanism, particularly from the peace movement.

For six months Grant Mouser was doyen of the consular corps. He has not had much time to enjoy the honour and dignity of this office.

But he was able to transmit to the Senate best wishes from the consular corps at the New Year reception.

Mouser leaves Hamburg with sorrow. He is at one with the colleague who replaces him: for consuls Hamburg is a good and important posting.

Diethart Goos

(Die Welt, Bonn, 9 March 1985)

Row over plan to build atom bunkers for all

If it were up to the Bonn Interior Ministry, the entire nation would be dug with bunkers for protection against a nuclear holocaust.

At the moment, 3.6 per cent of the West German population has a bunker to bolt to.

In Switzerland, there are enough bunkers for 80 per cent of the population and in Sweden for 65 per cent.

CDU and CSU politicians want it to be compulsory for bunkers to be built in all new houses and apartment blocks from next year or from 1987.

But the first step would be to create public space for 1.2 million people living in 300,000 homes and apartments.

The only question for Interior Minister Friedrich Zimmermann is how much the state can afford to pay and what it can demand from building contractors.

One expert says bunker space on a large scale could be had for 400 marks a head. But many critics say this is pathetic.

Advances in conventional weaponry would make any bunker built at such a take-away price suitable at best as defence against a fireworks display.

Wilhelm Nöbel, chairman of the Social Democrat Bundestag working group on civil defence, says the financial thinking is all wrong.

"Anybody who builds a cellar and wants a steel door or steel window is going to have to pay 2,000 marks."

And architect Jürgen Pahl says that real protection would only be possible if bunker walls were several metres thick and the bunker itself was between 50 and 100 metres under the earth.

Bunkers would also have to equipped so people could stay for far longer than the 14 days intended by the Ministry. But for the Ministry price, bunkers of that class were not to be had.

Peace group and doctors' organisations representatives hold similar views. One criticism is that bunkers merely fake the chances of survival.

The government plans at this stage are not entirely clear. The bunker obligation does not, for example, include all public buildings.

To which Free Democrat Burkhard Hirsch says: "It cannot be assumed that war will break out when everyone is at home."

In addition, people wanting to get their own home built are going to ask why they should have to pay for a bunker if businesses and government departments don't have to.

So far, Bonn has not exactly thrown money round for civil defence. In 1960, it spent DM6.80 per head of population. In 1980, it spent DM12.30.

Out of this, warning sirens have been bought, emergency wards equipped, Nazi files stored in war-resistant vaults, rescue services begun and nursing help trained.

Philosopher and nuclear physicist Karl Friedrich von Weizsäcker says that 100 marks per year per head of population should be spent on basic protection.

He is convinced that any war would be limited to the tactical use only of smaller nuclear weapons.

He has built in his own garden a bunker designed to protect 20 people from radioactivity and debris.

But von Weizsäcker isn't entirely without doubts. He says: "I am not certain that in the event of such a catastrophe that the survivors would not envy the dead."

But the Bonn government is not plagued by such doubts. It thinks that most of the population can be protected from "certain cases" of atom or chemical warfare.

However, studies indicate that if nuclear battlefield weapons were used, the results would be so that peace-time preparation would be inadequate for there to be any hope of effective, organised help.

They say better protection would be to prevent war by changing attitudes towards potential or putative enemies.

This is also the view of Oskar Lafontaine, who heads a national self-protection organisation. Lafontaine, the Mayor of Saarbrücken who this month was elected Prime Minister of the Saar, says: "If people want to take civil defence earnestly, they must go into the causes of possible wars."

Rosemary Callmann

(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 20 February 1985)